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ABSTRACT

This first volume of a six-volume study details the historical context of a particular school district (code-named "Milford") in order to examine the genesis and evolution of American education. The study's key research documents were the district school board's official minutes; additional modes of inquiry included participant observation, interviews, newsletters, and newspaper accounts. Following a brief historical overview in chapter 1, chapter 2 traces the district's origins through the tenures of its first two superintendents. Chapter 3, "The Genesis and Evolution of a School District: Preliminary Generalization," gives attention to such community items as county and state government agencies, elections, and population growth. The chapter also covers organizational structures and process, including sections on the school board, finances, and the role of the superintendent; and classrooms, curriculum, and teaching. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 cover, respectively, "The Early McBride Era" (1935-49), "The Modernization of Milford, 1949-52," and "The Decade of Rapid Growth and Expansion: 1952-61." Following chapter 7 entitled "The Tangle of Administrative Succession" and other issues from the years 1961-62, chapter 8 offers a summary, conclusions, and implications in the following areas: democracy in educational schooling, policy-making and administration, and longitudinal systems for examining innovation and change. In order to protect the anonymity of the school district studied in such detail, pseudonyms have been used for all place names (school, school district, city, county, state) and personal names (school superintendents, school board members, teachers, students) appearing in the various volumes of this set. (JBM)

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INNOVATION AND CHANGE IN AMERICAN EDUCATION
KENSINGTON REVISITED: A FIFTEEN YEAR FOLLOW-UP OF AN INNOVATIVE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AND ITS FACULTY

VOLUME I

CHRONICLING THE MILFORD SCHOOL DISTRICT: AN HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE KENSINGTON SCHOOL

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Chronicling the Milford School District:
An Historical Context of the Kensington School

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Chronicling the Milford School District:
An Historical Context of the Kensington School

Table of Contents

0. Foreword .... Page i

1. Historical Overview 1

2. Origins of the Milford District 5
   - 2.1 The Common School Era 5
   - 2.2 Milford: the Initial Six Director Town School District 8
   - 2.3 Milford Acquires a Superintendent: Mrs. Briggs 19
   - 2.4 Mr. Grey's Tenure as Superintendent 25

3. The Genesis and Evolution of a School District: Preliminary Generalizations 40
   - 3.1 Introduction 40
   - 3.2 Community Items 41
     - 3.21 County and State Government and Agencies 41
     - 3.22 The Annual Election 44
     - 3.23 Community Participation in the Annual School Meeting 44
     - 3.24 A Rolling Structure of Power and Authority 47
     - 3.25 Conflicts and Politics 48
     - 3.26 The Press of Population Growth 50
     - 3.27 Changing Technological Quality of Life 51
     - 3.28 The Vividness of the "American Dilemma" 52
     - 3.29 Summary 55
   - 3.3 Organizational Structure and Process 55
     - 3.31 The School Board: Pervasive, Potent, and Responsible Agent 56
     - 3.32 Incrementalism and Muddling Through 58
     - 3.33 Specialization of Positions and Functions 59
     - 3.34 Finances: Resources for Schooling 60
     - 3.35 The Evolving Role of the Superintendent 61
     - 3.36 Fate of Old School Buildings 63
     - 3.37 Summary 64
   - 3.4 Classrooms, Curriculum, and Teaching 65
     - 3.41 The Dearth of Educational Talk: An Introduction 65
     - 3.42 The Gradual Expansion of Programs 66
     - 3.43 Teacher Role and the Organization of Instruction 66
     - 3.44 The Student Body 68
     - 3.45 Class Size 69
     - 3.46 Free Textbooks 69
     - 3.47 Instructional Time: Days and Hours 70
     - 3.48 The High School Curriculum 71
       - 3.48.1 Physical Education 74
       - 3.48.2 Music 75
       - 3.48.3 Library Books 77
       - 3.48.4 Community Models and Resources 78
       - 3.48.5 Summary 84

4. The Early McBride Era: The Story Continues........................ Page 86
4.1 Introduction.. 86
4.2 Continuing the Long Stable Era (1935-1949).................... 86
4.3 Some New and Some Continuing Themes........................... 103
4.31 The American Dilemma Continues............................... 104
4.32 School Lunches: The Federal Program.......................... 106
4.33 Transportation of Pupils..................................... 108
4.34 Personality Conflict: An Analysis of a Personnel Issue....... 108
4.4 Further Interim Generalizations............................... 121
4.41 In General... 121
4.42 The Nature of the Flow of Activities......................... 125
4.43 More About Board Activities and Functions.................... 126
4.44 Variety and Scope of Superintendent Activities............... 128
4.45 Personnel Generalizations.................................... 129
4.46 Growth and Change: Milford as Topsy.......................... 129

5. Transition: The Modernization of Milford, 1949-52.................. 130
5.1 Introduction.. 130
5.2 Attachment and Annexation: Marquette Joins Milford............ 131
5.3 Formalization of Organizational Structures and Processes...... 135
5.4 The Continuing Themes... 138
5.5 More Evidence of Transition................................... 141
5.51 The Need for a New School.................................... 141
5.52 The Creation of a New Central Office Position................ 144
5.6 The Strong Board Member: An Infrequent But Major Event......... 147
5.7 The Continuing Story of Public Education in Milford........... 158

6. The Decade of Rapid Growth and Expansion: 1952-1961................ 164
6.1 Introduction.. 164
6.2 Growth and Modernization Continue............................. 166
6.3 The Potency of the Outside Survey--Or the Strong Board Member Revisited.... 170
6.31 Setting the Stage.. 170
6.32 The Survey Proceeds.. 172
6.33 When Consultants Conflict.................................... 176
6.34 The Potent Report Arrives.................................... 178
6.35 Reports as Political Amunition............................... 180
6.36 The Democratic Resolution.................................... 185
6.4 The World Turns: Old Themes Continue, 1953-55.................. 186
6.5 Neighborhood Schools: Roots and Sentiments..................... 198
6.51 Planning Boundaries for New Schools.......................... 199
6.52 Parental Interests and Politics.............................. 202
6.53 Underlying Sentiments and Neighborhood Schools............... 203
6.6 The Remaining Years of McBride's Tenure, 1955-61............... 207
6.61 The Narrative.. 208
6.62 Firing a Teacher... 218
6.63 A Strange Interlude.. 226

7. The Tangle of Administrative Succession............................ 235
7.1 Introduction.. 235
7.2 The District Crucible: 1961-62................................ 235
7.21 The Board's Action... 235
7.22 The CTA Action and Aftermath................................. 238
7.23 Internal Board Strife.. 240

7. Continued Page

7.24 The Board's Stance with the Professional Staff.... 241
7.25 The NEA Action.................................. 243
7.26 Denouement...................................... 247
7.27 Final Events of 1961-62......................... 248
7.3 Ending Milford's Early History and Foreshadowing the Later.. 253

8. Summary, Conclusions and Implications........................ 255
8.1 Introduction.. 255
8.2 The Many Faces of Democracy in Education and Schooling.... 256
8.21 The Political Context of Schooling............... 256
8.22 Localism... 257
8.23 Responsiveness to Local Needs.................... 260
8.24 National Purposes................................ 262
8.25 State Law.. 263
8.26 Voting... 265
8.27 The Constitution and Bill of Rights.............. 265
8.28 Education's Community Role....................... 266
8.3 Policy Making and Administration: Board Member and Superintendent Personality, Thought Processes, and Social Interaction.............................. 267
8.31 The Unpredictable Environment.................... 267
8.32 Resources and Costs.............................. 270
8.33 The Press and Priority of Immediate Problems...... 271
8.34 The Ebb and Flow of Conflict..................... 272
8.35 After the Fact Administrative Changes............ 274
8.36 Common Sense Modes of Thought.................... 276
8.37 Blending Politics, Common Sense and Educational Research.................................... 278
8.4 Toward a Model of Innovation and Change: Longitudinal Nested Systems.................................... 281
8.41 Restating the Problem............................. 281
8.42 The Early View of Kensington..................... 282
8.43 Fleshing Out the Model........................... 286
8.44 Contributions of the Model....................... 297
8.45 The Play of Power and the Longitudinal Nested Systems Model.................................. 300
8.5 Conclusion.. 304

Preface as Problem:
The Need for Volume One

In an earlier circulation of this volume of the report we had reactions and comments regarding the need for such an intensive history of the Milford School District. In a sense we were asked, What is the question to which this long monograph is the answer? This preface builds a perspective which culminates in the phrasing of that question.

Several beliefs coalesced in our view. First, we felt that most educational innovators and researchers of educational innovation had not taken up the issues in the relationship between educational innovation and educational change. Very simply put we see educational innovation as specific planned improvement. As such it is just one class of phenomena in the larger category of educational change. In this larger context, change, innovation takes on considerably different meaning. Our hunch is that most innovators have been so busy with their own problems and programs that they have not pursued the implications of events in the larger category. As we thought about these issues other related concepts entered our analysis. Educational reform became a major or large scale innovation. The genesis of a school district is a specific kind of innovation with a time referent. The evolution of a district implies gradual change over a period of time. Growth and decline suggest change in size and perhaps an evaluative disclaimer--growth as bigger and better and decline as smaller and lesser. The latter also implied a more organismic or naturalistic metaphor.

Finally, we settled on the outline in Figure P-1, an analytical context for the concept of educational innovation. Working through the data and analysis in Volume I helped us "see" the nature of Kensington

School as an educational innovation. The magnitude of this insight change is caught in the change in the overall title of our study. What began as Kensington Revisited: A 15 Year Follow-Up of an Innovative School and Its Faculty has become Innovation and Change in American Education with the original phrasing now a subtitle.

Insert Figure P-1 about here

Second, and related to the first, if educational innovation is only one kind of change and if it is your or my "baby" as often is the case, and was in Milford, then a further idea follows. At a minimum, other individuals may have other interests and ideas which they see as desirable, special, and, possibly, innovative. If their ideas are not perfectly congruent with yours or mine then we begin to have a problem of priorities, resources, power, and persuasion. In short, your or my innovation may well be just one small part of a political process. Goodness and truth may not lie in your or my project to the degree we had assumed. At this point, our specific planned change is more than a technical or scientific problem. Illuminating that cluster of events became very important to us.

Third, it is our belief that many, if not most educational innovators do not know much educational history. We believe that this is a tragedy for them and their ideas and a tragedy for many of the individuals in the schools within which they "inflict" or "save" with their innovations. This belief, as it relates to ourselves, is one of the major results of our study. As one of our colleagues commented upon listening to our enthusiasm and stories, "Lou, you've discovered history."

1. Educational change--the general category

2. Change from a "planned" perspective
    - Innovation
    - Reform

3. Change from a "naturalistic" perspective
    - Genesis
    - Evolution
    - Growth
    - Decline

4. Change from an holistic perspective
    - Expansion--add on
    - Contraction--subtraction
    - Differentiation
    - Reorganization

Figure P-1: An Analytical Context Of The Concept "Innovation"

And so we have. This concern for history in general and for the history of this district in particular is part of a major shift in our concept of paradigms or root metaphors underlying our approach to educational research, theory, and practice. We feel we are operating from a contextualist metaphor as Pepper (1942) and Sarbin (1977) use the term. With them, we believe the power of social science and educational inquiry will be ehanced as others move in this direction also.

Fourth, even so, there is still enough of the natural scientist in each of us to feel that an outsider's, reasonably detached view of the "natural history" of a, or better, this school district might be more important than just the pursuit of an idle curiosity. We believe that the genesis and evolution of the district from this more naturalistic perspective shades into our more contextualist, political perspective. As such, we can view "the new elementary education of the Kensington" as one superintendent's vision, in a history of five superintendents and seventy-five years of schooling in Milford. Where does Superintendent Spanman fit in the evolution of the Milford School District. Where did he come from? Why did he build the innovative Kensington School here?

Fifth, when we accidently fell into the huge body of data, bound volumes of Milford Board Minutes reaching back to 1915, the practicality and possibility of this historical dimension became a reality.[1] Beyond a Mount Everest being there to be climbed, we have found that vague, general and often ill founded ideas take on another kind of vitality when they are moved into the concrete reality of data on human events.

---

[1] As we have commented on several occasions, the support by Dr. Ronald Goerge, Superintendent of Milford and by Mr. Frederick Mulhauser, our NIE Project Officer, has been owerwhelmingly positive at every turn.

As we argue elsewhere, school board minutes are public records of an unusual sort. Finding a closet full of them opened up unimagined vistas. The historical context was there.

Sixth, one of the truisms in our field research is that "the problem" evolves over the course of the project. This is the best of what is sometimes called responsive research design rather than pre set research design. Rather than being a producer of anxiety, this becomes part of the excitement and joy of the unexpected in field research.

In short, Volume I, Chronicling the Milford School District: An Historical Context of the Kensington School, is just that, an historical context. It answers the question, "Where does the Kensington School fit into the larger picture?" Because this picture is treated historically as the genesis and evolution of a school district it permits us to deal with the larger new phrasing of our problem "Innovation and Change in American Education?" By introducing "American" in the statement we have gone from the instance of the Milford School District to a larger class or category of events, "American Education." Further, we believe that one of the best ways, although not the only way, of understanding that larger set of events is to know intimately one highly detailed but integrated case. With such an image at hand, one can begin to come to terms with any other case and with the larger category. As we commented in jest with the current Superintendent of Milford, "We know more about Milford than anyone ever has known and probably more than anyone will want to know." That is, unless one wants to "really" understand innovation and change in American education. Such is the question, and hope, of this Volume in the overall report.

Foreword

to

Innovation and Change in American Education
Kensington Revisited: A 15 Year Follow-Up of An Innovative School and Its Faculty

(Smith, Dwyer, Kleine, Prunty)

This research is about innovation and change in American education. It began as Kensington Revisited: A 15 year follow-up of an innovative school and its faculty, Project G78-0074, supported by the National Institute of Education. As in most of our case study research, the initial problem was buffeted about by the reality of settings, events, and people as captured by our several modes of inquiry--participant observation, intensive open ended interviews, and the collection and analysis of multiple documents. The setting was Kensington, an elementary school built fifteen years ago as a prototypical innovative building with open space, laboratory suites instead of classrooms, a perception core instead of a library and a nerve center for the latest in technological education equipment. The people were the series of administrators, teachers, pupils, and parents who worked in, attended, or sent their children to the school. Three principals have come and gone, the fourth is in his first year. Three cadres of faculty have staffed the school. The events were the activities of those people as they built and transformed the school over the years. This story we found, and we constructed, as part of a larger setting, the Milford School District which had its own story, actors, and events and which provided an important context for Kensington.

In the course of the search for the major theme about which our developing ideas and data could be integrated. "Innovation and Change in American Education", became the guiding thesis. That theme is composed of a half dozen sub themes, each of which makes up a separate volume in the report. While we believe the totality of the study has its own kind of integrity and that each volume extends the meanings of the others, we have written each as a "stand alone" piece. That is, we believe each speaks to an important domain of Innovation and Change in American Education, each draws most heavily upon a particular subset of our data, and each contains important descriptive narratives, substantive grounded interpretations and generalizations. This foreword, which appears in each volume, is intended, in a few sentences, to keep the totality and each of the pieces in the forefront of the reader's consciousness.

Volume I Chronicling the Milford School District: An Historical Context of the Kensington School

Kensington's fifteen year existence is but one small segment of Milford's sixty-five years of recorded history and one school in a district with a dozen other schools. The superintendent who built the school is just one of five individuals who have held the post. As we have told the story, we have raised generalizations regarding innovation and change, and we have presaged themes of policy, of local, state and national influences on the school, of organizational structure and process, and of curriculum and teaching. The key documents in developing the perspective were the official school board minutes. Newsletters to patrons, newspaper accounts, other records, and interviews, formal and informal, supplemented the basic documents.

Volume II Milford: The School District as Contemporary Context

In a fundamental sense, Volume II is a continuation, a final chapter as it were, to the historical context of the Milford School District. It is a long chapter, however, for the central actors and events which immediately and directly shaped the Kensington School are in place, just as the school is in place. The ebb and flow of the district, in its recent history, is brought to a particular focus, one that will illuminate the events and themes that appear in the development and change in the Kensington School over its fifteen year history and in its current status. The board of education, the superintendency, the central office staff, and their interrelationships lead toward "a governance and organizational perspective on innovation and change". Board minutes remain the central core of the data with increasing amounts of information from public documents (e.g. newspapers), interviews with central actors, and observation of meetings.

Volume III Innovation and Change at Kensington: Annals of a Community and School

After carefully examining the historical context of the Milford School District, our focus shifts to innovation and change at the Kensington School. Our search for an explanation of the profound changes that have taken place in a once innovative school, has pushed us back in time and obliged us to consider such wider topics as demography, neighborhoods, and political jurisdiction. Volume III begins by tracing origins and development of a community that became part of the Milford School District in 1949 and a neighborhood that began sending its children to Kensington School in 1964. With the opening of Kensington, the annals of the community are joined by a history of the school. As we develop the stories of Kensington and its neighborhood in tandem, we begin to tell of the interdependency of school and community and to further our understanding of innovation and change in schooling in contemporary American Society.

Volume IV Kensington Today: Sailing Stormy Straits, a View of Education Policy in Action

An ethnographic account of the school today with particular reference to educational policy in action at the day to day school level is presented here. The major metaphor is a ship sailing through stormy straits on a perilous journey during the 1979-80 school year. Staff and students produce vivid scenes reflecting issues in racial integration, special education, discipline, and instruction in the basic subjects. Policy analysis seems analogous to the fine art of navigation.

Volume V Educational Innovators Then and Now

Crucial to any education enterprise are the people who staff the schools. Smith and Keith characterized the original faculty of Kensington as true believers. In this Volume we sketch life histories, careers, serials of the original faculty based on extended open-ended interviews (2-7 hours), comments by spouses, friends and colleagues, and various writings--books, brochures, reports, and dissertations. Patterns and themes arise in the form of "secular religion," "you do go home again," "organizational niches and career opportunities for educationists," "maintenance of educational ideology," "continuity and change in personality," and "doctoral education, a disaster for reform oriented practitioners."

Volume VI Case Study Research Methodology: The Intersect of Participant Observation, Historical Method, Life History Research, and Follow-Up Studies

Regularly in our inquiry we have produced "methodological appendices" to our research reports. We saw our efforts as clarifying the craft of research as we practiced it, ordering its evolving nature, and continuously attempting to integrate it with other ways of knowing. This essay continues in that tradition. Specifically our mode of participant observation now has enlarged itself by a substantial historical thrust and a substantial life history or biographical thrust. In addition, our research is an instance of a special methodological stance, a follow-up or return to the setting of an earlier major study. (e.g., Middletown in Transition) In this way it takes on a time series quality with repeated observation. In doing the descriptive and analytical pieces, Volumes I through V, in reading about how others have done similar work, in talking with proponents of the various methods, we have reached for a broader synthesis of case study research methods in the intersection of these several approaches. We see all this as an important addition to the methodological literature in educational inquiry.

In summary, our research is a unique blend of approaches to the problems and issues of Innovation and change in American Education. It is grounded in the multiple aspects of a single school in a single school district. As in all case studies the particular events have major meanings for the actors in the setting, but, also, we believe that these events often capture images and ideas that have relevance for other people in other times and places. Recently, Geertz has spoken of these as "experience-near" and "experience-distant" conceptions. In each form we hope to be providing mirrors for educationists to see themselves better, that is more clearly, to be conscious of rephrased problems, and to create more viable options and alternatives. Our multi volumed report is presented with these aspirations in mind.

1. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Sometimes it's useful to sketch in broad strokes an overview or outline of the history one wants to tell in more detail. A number of choices exists in the nature of those broad lines of demarcation, for instance, general societal events such as wars and depressions. Alternatively, the school district has had only five superintendents and one might speak of the Briggs era, the Grey era, the McBride era, the Spanman era and the George era. One is reminded of national history by dynasties, reigning kings, or presidents. Or one can capture periods around major local events, e.g. district consolidation, which stamp the moments in the minds of participants. Finally the calendar permits a decade-by-decade striking of events. Perhaps to presage our larger analytical frame we have opted for a combination of these alternatives.

In Figure 1 we present a time line of six discernible periods: the pre 1925 common school district era, a long stable township period, the rapid expansion in district size precipitated by merger and the population explosion of the post WWII suburban development, the brief four year period of Spanman's innovative lighthouse district gambit, a period of conservative consolidation and then the current era characterized by three major themes--declining enrollments, social class shifts and racial changes. Figure 2 presents the superintendent time line.

Insert Figures 1 and 2 about here

Perhaps it is helpful, too, to recall our initial purposes. We are trying for a description and analysis of the changes in the innovative Kensington School between its opening in 1964 and its current status fifteen years later in

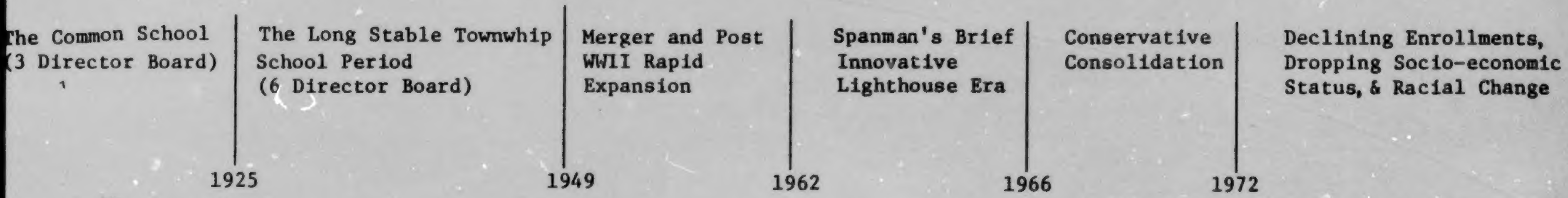
he Common School
3 Director Board)
The Long Stable Townwhip
School Period
(6 Director Board)
Merger and Post
WWII Rapid
Expansion
Spanman's Brief
Innovative
Lighthouse Era
Conservative
Consolidation
Declining Enrollments,
Dropping Socio-economic
Status, & Racial Change
1925
1949
1962
1966
1972

Figure 1: A Broad Overview of the History of the Milford School District

Briggs	1928-1930
Grey	1930-1935
McBride	1935-1962
Spanman	1962-1966
George	1966-present

Figure 2: Tenure of Superintendents

1979-80. As a piece of contemporary empirical research that represents a long time period. From an historical point of view it is not only recent history but also a relatively short time period. One aspect of our metatheoretical perspective assumes that a view of the history of the Milford School District will enhance our understanding of the changes in the Kensington School. More recently, as our data have accumulated, as new directions for inquiry have arisen out of available people, documents, and themes and as analysis and interpretations have continued, we have found shifts in the very nature of our problem. Now one of our guiding questions is not so much "How and why did this school change from 1964 to 1979" but, "Why did the Kensington School appear at all in the Milford School District?" As we have come to grips with that the District as an evolving entity became an interesting story and analytical problem in its own right.[1]

---

[1] Among a number of individuals who have been helpful in our overall effort, three people especially have seen the possibilities and the hopes underlying the evolving quest and have given us both openness and supportiveness. Our thanks to Fritz Mulhauser, our project offices at NIE, Ronald George, the Superintendent of the Milford Schools, and Barry Anderson, the Director of the Graduate Institute of Education.

2. ORIGINS OF THE MILFORD DISTRICT

2.1 The Common School Era

The very first recorded minutes of the school Board of the Milford School District are a three item account from February, 1924:[2]

> Board meeting called to order Feb. 6th, 1924, 8:10 PM by President Sand.
>
> New school bldg. proposition discussed.
>
> Moved & 2nd that 1000.00 fire ins. be secured on colored school bldg. Carried. (2/6/24)

A week later, a four item set of minutes recorded the Board's activity:

> Meeting called to order Feb. 14th, 1924, 8:30 PM at Mr. Gabriel's residence.
>
> Moved & 2nd that committee of 2 be appointed to see Mr. Freedman with reference to making arrangements for purchasing land adjacent to present site. Carried. Mr. Connor and Mr. Gabriel appointed.
>
> Moved & 2nd that committee be appointed to investigate site in Milford Village. Carried. Mr. Sand and F.K.T. appointed
>
> Moved & 2nd that we bring the proposition of a 6 Director district before the people and F.K.T. secure all necessary information concerning same. Carried. (2/14/24)

Several weeks later the third recorded meeting of the Board occurred. The minutes reveal several additional aspects of the School's functioning:

> Clear Valley School
> District #10
>
> Board meeting called to order Wed. Eve. March 5, 1924.

---

[2] Later we found a volume of mixed records labeled 1914-1919 which has school board minutes dating from September 10, 1913 - September 28, 1922 and minutes of the Annual School Meetings from April 7, 1914 to April 7, 1925.

Letter of resignation of F.D. Sand read and accepted.

Mr. Gabriel elected President of the Board.

Mr. Fred Emory appointed to fill unexpired term of F.D. Sand. F. K T. (3/5/24)

The minutes continue on in this fashion through the rest of the year. Eventually year-in and year-out they become more and more elaborate. The reader is left with an image of the school district developing before one's eyes. But even at this point several items are clear:

1) The district is a three-director rural or Common School District.

2) The Board meets in the home of one of the directors.

3) Concerns exist over school buildings, sites, and insurance.

4) A separate school for Blacks exists in the community.

5) Concern for a township school, i.e., a "six-director" school is on the agenda.

6) The Board elects its own president, and replaces its resigned members.

In subsequent minutes of irregular meetings of that Spring a number of items point the story more fully. The Clear Valley School has a principal, Mr. Young, and two or three teachers including Mrs. Young. The principal is paid $160 per month and the teachers average $105 per month. The "colored school" receives a name that Spring and becomes the Attucks School.

In the autumn of 1924, a new Board president appears, although Mr. Gabriel remains on the Board and F.K.T., Mr. F. K. Tholozan remains as "clerk." The minutes continue to create a picture of schooling. Bills to a half-dozen book companies -- American Book, Allyn & Bacon, Ginn, Little, Brown, etc. are recorded. Repairs to furnaces, hiring of janitors and general up-keep of the schools continue. "The matter of electric wiring of the colored school was brought up. Motion carried that wiring be done." In January of 1925,[3] four items appear:

> Moved & 2nd that bills be allowed. Carried
>
> Moved & 2nd that bookcase be purchased by Mr. Young for colored school. Carried.
>
> Moved & 2nd that official strap, about 2½" wide, for the infliction of corporal punishment be purchased. Carried.
>
> Moved & 2nd that 1 x 4 strips be purchased for tying desks together in west room. Carried. (1/13/25)

In the March, 1925 meeting three major items appeared:

> Moved & 2nd that the proposition of organizing this school district into a town school district with six directors be submitted to the voters at the annual election. Carried.
>
> Moved & 2nd that 60¢ tax rate be submitted to the voters at the annual election. Carried.
>
> Moved & 2nd that plot of ground east of school yard be rented -- rate of $50.00 per year. Carried. (3/12/25)

These went on the ballot in April with all due announcements, petitions, and indications that two villages -- Milford and Pleasant Hill are within District #10, and also that "400 Scholastics"[4] reside in the District. On

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[3] Minutes are available only for single meetings in September, November, and January, February and March.

[4] Scholastic refers to pupils, but it's not clear the age limits in the enumeration. Midwest State law indicates 0-21 years at present. It seems that approximately 120-150 pupils are actually enrolled.

April 2, 1925 130 citizens voted "For organization", 51 voted "Against organization" and 4 were "Questionable." Clear Valley Common School District was now the Milford School District and would retain that name for the next 55 years, that is, until the present. (6/17/25)

2.2 Milford:

The Initial Six-Director Town School District

Very quickly the new Board moved to organize itself, voted a ten month school year, submitted a bond issue for $45,000 for a new four room school building, took options on four acres adjacent to the present school site, engaged a lawyer, and appointed a committee "to make arrangements to provide an adequate building and equipment for the colored (Attucks) school."(5/27/25) That committee reported out in the following Summer:

> Moved & 2nd that committee proceed with alterations of colored school. Colored school to be increased to 32 ft. x 32 ft. with basement under west half. Motion carried. (7/22/25)

During this period, the Board minutes record pupil enumeration as:

420	White	
46	Colored	
4	Deaf, Dumb & Crippled	
470	TOTAL	(5/27/25)

A year earlier, the enumeration was:

187	Male	White
196	Female	
22	Male	Colored
24	Female	
5	f. m. & B[5]	
434	TOTAL	(5/24)

The 1925-26 school year contained items which seem indigenous to schooling everywhere in America at different times. Property owners, who wanted more for their land than the school Board was willing to give, were subjected to the legal actions of condemnation proceedings. The first record of resolutions to problems of overcrowding also appeared that year. The Board minutes recorded it this way:

> On account of the crowded condition in some of the rooms it was moved & 2nd that parents who wished could keep their children home half day providing they gave them instruction at home. Motion carried.
> (1/19/26)

On April 13, 1926 amidst actions on bills, levies and new Board members, several items related to staffing problems appear in brief enigmatic form:

> Moved & 2nd that a man and his wife shall not be permitted to teach in our school district. Motion carried.
>
> The question of renewal of contracts was brought up and was stated that there was considerable discord among the teachers. Mr. Craig and Miss Gurney advised Mr. Gabriel that they could not renew their contracts under present conditions, claiming Mr. and

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[5] No indication occurs regarding the meaning of these symbols. Our guess is "feeble minded" and "blind."

> Mrs. Young did not cooperate with them. Several of the patrons, as well as the County Superintendent of Schools called some of the Board members attention to existing conditions.
>
> After much discussion it was moved & 2nd that Board shall not renew the contracts of Mr. and Mrs. Young. Motion carried unanimously. The President advised Mr. Young of the Board's action in its presence.
>
> Moved & 2nd that Ronald Craig be appointed principal for the next term, 10 months, at a salary of $150/month. Motion carried unanimously. The President advised Mr. Craig of the Board's action in its presence. (4/13/26)

Two special meetings occurred in the last two weeks of April. A group of six parents representing the Parents and Teachers Association requested the Board to "reconsider the election of teachers." While no formal general action was taken the Board requested and received a release from Mr. Craig of its offer as principal. At the second meeting, in two, 3-2 votes the Board voted down the motion to consider "none of the teachers," and then voted not to reconsider its vote of the 13th. In brief, the decisions stood to terminate the Youngs and to promote Mr. Craig as Principal.

A variety of inferences might be drawn provisionally from these items. 1) Considerable problems must have been occurring for this is the first mention of the County Superintendent of Schools in over two years of minutes. 2) The nepotism rules seem to have arisen as simple solutions to ordinary day-to-day problems. 3) Boards had "life and death" power over the teaching staff, that they moved initially in unanimity on such key issues, and that communications to key parties was carried out in the "presence" of the entire Board. The clarity of direct observation and witness allowed no misconstrual of action. 4) Appeals could and were made. Individual Board members were not locked permanently into voting patterns. The first split votes were recorded.

Amongst the "heavier" items, appear items which will become part and parcel of later approaches to small problems:

> Moved & 2nd that principal be authorized to purchase baseball equipment out of funds accumulated from sale of misc. stationary. Motion carried. (5/5/26)

Whether schools have engaged in money making activities for years for "fringe" items is not clear. In Milford, the records go back for 55 years to here.

While no clear mention is made in the Board minutes of the new school opening in the Autumn of 1926, bills for the builder, architect, 100 chairs, and $400.00 for a septic tank all were paid in the Summer of 1926. The janitor was employed for ten months and, "permitted to use 2 rooms of the old building for living quarters." It was moved & 2nd that the builder, "give floors in new bldg. 2 coats of heated linseed oil. Carried." (8/11/26)

In the Spring of 1927, the Board began its first action regarding high school education. Prior to this time youngsters had tuition paid to a neighboring district:[6]

> Moved & 2nd that the Board be appointed committee to see the parents of the high school prospects with the view of determining their attitude. Carried. (1/13/27)

---

[6] The minutes are not exact on this point. Records indicate that Black high school tuition was paid.

> Moved & 2nd that special meeting be called for April 27th, 1927, for further discussion of high school work & employment of teachers. (1/13/27)

Two months later, action was taken:

> Moved & 2nd that the 9th grade of high school work be taken up for the coming year. Motion carried. (6/8/27)

The story continued immediately:

> Secy. instructed to write Supt. Jos. B. Michael whether or not a teacher can be employed to teach ninth grade high school work, and can alternate with lower grades, without affecting our standing as an accredited high school.
>
> Secy. instructed to write Mrs. Claire Briggs requesting application. (6/14/27)

By July 20, 1927, Mrs. Brigg's was hired, "conditioned upon obtaining State of Midwest certificate to teach." (7/20/27) Bids for renovating the old frame building were secured and the high school found a home and began. New programs bring unanticipated problems:

> Regularly moved & 2nd that some member of the School Board see Dr. Synder[7] at his convenience to instruct whether or not we can admit a person to our school 21 yrs. of age, & married. Motion carried. (9/14/27)

And the next item in the minutes speaks eloquently to another set of problems:

> Regularly moved & 2nd that in the future we should find it necessary to order any repair work done of

---

[7] Suburban County Superintendent of Schools. Other records indicate he was a formidable school man and held office for 36 years from 1916 to 1952.

> any nature, that we secure at least three competitive bids, we to specify the work to be done and the materials used, and the lowest bid accepted. Motion carried. (9/14/27)

For the first time also, the bills were now listed by sequential number as well as by amount and biller in the school Board minutes.

At a September meeting the Board, which earlier had purchased a 2½" strap for corporal punishment, now reversed itself:

> Regularly moved & 2nd that corporal punishment be abolished from the Clear Valley School. Motion carried. (9/14/27)

The complications in this aspect of school policy and school functioning appeared within a month. A pupil was suspended. He and his parents appeared before the Board. He was warned and "ordered" to return to school. The Board took a list of rules, infractions and penalties developed by the teachers and turned them into school policy. While no copy of those rules exists, inferences can be drawn in part from the note of suspension. The note appears as Figure 3. Clearly the items of truancy, defying and disobeying the principal, lying, disturbing another room, and unruliness would be part of those rules.

Insert Figure 3 about here

The complications of "policy in action" appeared in a lengthy item in the October 12, 1927 meeting:

> After a complete hearing of evidence and facts relative to corporal punishment inflicted on Kent Collinson, a pupil in Miss Gimble's classroom, by Mr. Craig, Principal, on Wednesday, Oct. 5th, the parents were advised that they

Suspension from school

Billy Lamb, the eight-year old son of Greg Lamb, of R31 Box 29 was suspended from Clear Valley School on Wednesday September 21, 1927.

Charges:

1. He played truancy,
2. He defied and disobeyed the principal of the school,
3. He broke down the morale of the school by telling falsehoods,
4. He entered and created a disturbance in a room where he was forbidden to go.

Punishment:

Billy did not receive any punishment at school for his unruly conduct.

Signed by
Mr. Craig, Principal
Mr. Underwood, School Board Pres.
Mr. Matthews, Another board member

Figure 3: Notice of Suspension

> would be advised at a later date of the School Board's findings. Mr. Craig was reprimanded by the Board and a general understanding effected that it is the desire of this School Board that corporal punishment be abolished from our school. While the Board is fully aware that the State Law gives the teacher the right to inflict reasonable corporal punishment, the Board wished the cooperation of the faculty in abolishing this form of punishment, using the suspension system as set forth in rules submitted by and signed by the faculty, dated Sept. 26th, 1927, referred to as exhibit A in minutes of meeting of Sept. 28th, 1927. (10/12/27)

Slowly, the high school program began to take on form and substance. Beyond the unlisted books which had been purchased and listed only as "High School books," items such as these appeared:

> Bills:
> 431 Central Scientific Co. - H. School Lab $149.91
>
> Regularly moved & 2nd that a cabinet for storing high school laboratory equipment be ordered by the Secy. as requested by Mrs. Briggs. Equipment necessary as set forth in the Bulletin on High School Organization, page #89. Motion carried. (10/12/27)
>
> Moved & 2nd that the necessary books to complete high school library requested by Mrs. Briggs in her letter of Oct. 12th be ordered by the Secy. Motion carried. (10/12/27)

Items relevant to basic dilemmas in public and private enterprise arose:

> Regularly moved & 2nd that Miss Wilma Mann discontinues giving music lessons in the school building pending a thorough interpretation by the Board of Directors as to the legality of her so teaching for profit. Motion carried. (11/9/27)

At the same meeting, the interplay among larger governmental structures, the local Board and the professionalization of teachers arose:

> Secy. instructed by the Board of Directors to advise Mr. Craig that schools in our district be closed Nov. 10 & 11th, to permit teachers to attend the State Teachers Convention, as per recommendation of Supt. Synder in his note of 10/12/27. (11/9/27)

Similarly, the holiday structure was reaffirmed:

> Secy. instructed to advise Mr. Craig to declare Friday, Nov. 25th, a school holiday, being the Friday following Thanksgiving. School closes this day as has been customare in previous years. (11/9/27)

The final item on that busy November evening in 1927, helps keep the reader's image in perspective:

> Regularly moved & 2nd that a letter of complaint be written by the Secy. to Dr. Zeller, County Health Supt., concerning the odors, etc., arising from hog farm operated by Mr. Standish, which is endangering the health of our school children. Complaint filed by Mr. Craig with the Bd. of E. letter dated 11/9/27. Motion carried. (11/9/27)

The confusion over corporal punishment returned later that month:

> Regularly moved & 2nd that our rule abolishing corporal punishment again be instituted, teachers to use proper judgment and discretion in administering this form of punishment. Secy. instructed to advise Mr. Craig of this ruling. (11/15/27)

The County provided some help regarding discipline and deportment. A Board action on February 8, 1929 commented this way:

> Regularly moved & 2nd that Secy. be instructed to write Mr. Snyder drawing his attention to the laxity of the Co. Truant Officer in re delinquency of children of this district - Jane Zellner - 2 other members - and Michael Gaines residing in Pleasant Hill (Chronic cases). Motion carried. (2/8/29)

For the first time, the Board raised an issue which remains a part of life in the Milford Schools:

> Regularly moved & 2nd that Secy. be instructed to request Mr. Craig to draft a plan whereby all teachers supervise playground during playtime. (2/15/28)

And the Board also instituted the beginnings of school cafeterias and lunch programs:

> Motion made that Mr. Tompkins & Mr. Nunn[8] be appointed to secure necessary equipment as suggested (they to use their judgment in the selections) for the preparation of food for the school children. Carried. (Mrs. Allen 7:30 to 3:00 PM @ $2.00 per day.)
>
> Motion made that Mr. Jennings and Newberry[8] be instructed to take care of the installation of necessary tables in the basement of the school. Carried. (2/15/28)

Housing, staffing, and keeping the lunch programs "profitable" will be a regular item forever more. Conventional wisdom in this domain, as we will see, is almost an internal contradiction.

At a special meeting of the Board, after the April 3rd elections, the new members were sworn in, and new officers were elected, "by acclamation." Other items were noteworthy for their first mention in the record:

> Committee of Mothers Club desires permission to plant shrubs and trees on school premises. Moved & 2nd that the committee be permitted to do their planting without Mr. Thompson's[9] deference. Motion carried. (4/14/28)

---

[8] Board members
[9] The school janitor

Two key items relevant to the educational programs arose:

> Regularly moved & 2nd that for the year 1928-1929, that we organize a Junior High School consisting of 7th, 8th, & 9th grade school. Motion carried. (4/4/28)
>
> Regularly moved & 2nd that we offer Mrs. Briggs the position of Principal of this school at $175.00 per month, for 10 month term, 1928-1929. Motion carried. (4/4/28)

That salary was $35.00 per month higher than her teaching salary, $140.00, and $15.00 per month higher than the salary of Mr. Craig, the elementary principal who until then was the highest paid employee in the district at $160.00 per month. The median teacher salary at the time was $125.00. A week later, the minutes suggest all was not well in staff relations:

> Regularly moved & 2nd that Mrs. Briggs be employed for the year of 1928-1929 as Principal of the High Sch. & Elementary School, at 200.00 per month. 4 members Carr, Inman, Tholozan[10], & Ennis for. Opposed - Newport. Pres. not voting. (4/11/ 28)

The next week six new teachers were offered contracts. Changes also occurred at the Attucks School. A new replacement teacher and an alternative were selected. The janitor was dismissed and a new janitor hired.

By Autumn 1928, the faculty of the Milford District consisted of nine professional staff, including Mrs. Briggs and a part time teacher. By November due to congestion and crowding the half time teacher became full time and an additional primary teacher was added. Only Mrs. Briggs remained from the previous year.

High faculty turnover seems a part of the early years.

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[10] The wife of an earlier Board member, F. Tholozan

2.3 Milford Acquires a Superintendent: Mrs. Briggs

During the Summer of 1928, in this period of faculty change and turnover, the Board made an additional move:

> Regularly moved & 2nd that Mr. Carson write Mr. Tobias for permission to organize the Sch. Dist. under supervision of a Supt. Motion carried. (7/11/28)

The Board quickly heard from Mr. Tobias and a special session was called:

> Letter dated July 13th, 1928, from State Director of High Sch. Supervision, K. S. Tobias, read and unanimous approval of all Bd. members present expressed.
>
> Regularly moved & 2nd that on strength of this letter, Mrs. Briggs, our Principal, be appointed Supt. of our School Dist. to devote ½ of her time to the supervision of our schools and to organize the 7th, 8th, & 9th grades in a Junior High School, in accordance with the plans submitted to and approved by Director of H. S. Supervision, K. S. Tobias. Motion carried. (7/20/28)

In just one year (6/14/27 to 7/20/28), Mrs. Briggs had moved from being a teacher new to the district but organizing the high school, to principal, to becoming the first superintendent of the Milford Public Schools.

During the Fall months of 1928, members of the Board still carried out a number of miscellaneous activities:

> Regularly moved & 2nd that Mrs. Tholozan be authorized to purchase the necessary equipt. for hospital or first aid room. Motion carried. (9/12/28)

But the new superintendent began to take on broader responsibilities:

> Moved & 2nd that Mrs. Briggs write Mr. Overmeier of the State University asking for one of the experts on

> building projects to call on us as soon as it can be arranged, our Board to pay his traveling expenses. Motion carried.
>
> Resolution introduced to give Mrs. Briggs general charge of the cafeteria. Seconded by Mrs. Tholozan and passed. Mr. Carr instructed to inform Mrs. Winter.
> (12/12/28)

In the Spring of 1929, an attempt was made to pass a bond issue for a school addition. It failed. Later, after a citizens committee was appointed, a plan for a new school was developed. It too failed. Finally in October 1929, a bond issue for a new school (4 rooms), two new rooms at Clear Valley, and repairs and improvements at the Attucks passed overwhelmingly -- 438, 70, and 3. The new school would be closer to the population in the eastern part of the district. Passage of the bond issue meant then that architects, roofers, " ... kindly consider the use of their asbestos shingles on the contemplated building" (12/11/29), and builders visited the Board. And the usual bills were paid, holidays for Christmas were set -- Friday, 12/20 to Thursday, 1/2/30.

Staff problems seemed to remain. Mrs. Briggs raised complaints regarding the janitor and he was replaced in December 1929, with two weeks notice. January 8th, 1930 two teachers met with the Board:

> Miss Monet and Miss Greer representing our faculty - made a few remarks both for and against the present condition of the school system.
>
> Mrs. Briggs placed before the Board a few of the many difficulties that arise to hinder progress in the school work. Mr. Tompkins had left us early in Nov. T. I. Wells took his place for a few weeks but failed to qualify and was discharged on that ground. Mr. T.M. Kane was hired and worked only a few days and he

> resigned. Mr. Fred Nolting was then taken in and appears to meet all requirements and we are hoping that he will stay with us the remainder of the year.
> (1/18/30)

In February:

> Miss Kellev and Mr. Nolting, members of the faculty and *Hubert Click a member of the student body* were delegated to call upon the Board and make various recommendations. (Our italics) (2/12/30)

In the week of February 17th, the Milford Board held two special meetings in which the mid-winter drama reached a climax.

> Mr. Nofsinger - Carr - Inman - Lawrence met informally with Mr. Peter Lake -- superintendent of the Kennard School[11] for the purpose of obtaining information concerning a member of his faculty -- who had been recommended to us as a likely candidate for our Superintendent.
>
> Mr. Lake recommends highly Mr. F. W. Grey who has been in his system for 4 years in the capacity of Physical Education director and one whose ambitions and qualifications have outgrown his system and one that he (Mr. Lake) would be unable to retain.
>
> Mr. Lake also explained quite satisfactorily the system of voting the tax levy in the two propositions. He also explained why our 85¢ tax which was voted upon at the Annual School Election, April 1929 and was carried by a majority vote of the people -- was ruled out of the County Court because a school of our classification cannot vote more than 65¢ for teachers and incidental fund.
>
> Mr. Inman was instructed to extend an invitation to Mr. Grey to meet with us on Friday, Feb. 21/31 for an interview.
>
> Our meeting adjourned at 10:45 PM.

---

[11] Kennard School is an adjacent district where some Milford high school students had gone to school over the years and where Milford had rented in the last year a basketball court for use by its pupils.

Within the week, the following Friday the Board met with Mr. Grey. Only Mr. Edgar was absent. The verbatim minutes are presented in toto:

> The purpose of the meeting was to interview Mr. Grey as a likely candidate to succeed Mrs. Briggs as Superintendent.
>
> Our school district is growing so rapidly and we are in the midst of a building program this year and *we feel keenly the need of a man at the head of our school system.* (Our Italics)
>
> Mrs. Briggs has given good service and has done a splendid job of organizing a Junior and Senior High School, but the increasing demand is growing out of her power of control.
>
> After a careful interview with Mr. Grey we naturally agreed that provided the additional tax of 40¢ for building and repair fund (that we expect to vote upon at the next annual school election) carries we would employ him - giving him a contract for 12 months, beginning July 1st, 1930, in order that he might be on the job during the building process this Summer.
>
> In anticipation of the number of children that very likely will attend the school in Milford Village[12] Mr. Grey asks permission to make a survey of those living in the district and their preference. He was authorized to have blanks for this request printed and distributed throughout the district.
>
> Mr. Mullanply was authorized to inform Mrs. Briggs that we would not renew her contract.
>
> Mrs. Tholozan was delegated to introduce Mr. Grey to Mrs. Briggs in order that he might become familiar with the school system - of what has been done and what needs to be done.
>
> Meeting adjourned at 10:50 P.M. (2/21/30)

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[12] Milford Village, by name, was an unincorporated village. When the town school district was organized the School District took its name.

The regular March 12th Board meeting spent most of its time on the bond issue and bidders from eight financial institutions. Bills were read and approved. Names of Inman and Lawrence were submitted for re-election of members of the Board in April. At a special meeting, a week later, a number of items of business were handled -- final architectural plans and bids for the contracts. Three items bear especially on several of our larger themes:

> The secretary read the application of Mrs. Briggs and after careful consideration we decided that it would not be wise to retain her in the system. Mrs. Tholozan was delegated to inform her of same. Her application is attached.

We have inserted her letter as Figure 4.

Insert Figure 4 about here

The next item in the minutes:

> G.W. Ford -- colored contractor, was present and asked the consideration of the Board for the contract for the building of the Attucks School.[13]
>
> Mr. Grey submitted a report of the survey made just recently in regard to the number of pupils that will likely attend the Milford School and recommended the hiring of three additional teachers.
>
> Mr. Carr made a motion and seconded by Mrs. Tholozan to authorize Mr. Grey to proceed in getting teachers applications as per his schedule. (3/19/30)

The Special Meeting in April reported the re-election of the two Board members and the overwhelming passage of the 65¢ and the 40¢ tax. The oath they and the earlier Board members took is reproduced as Figure 5.

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[13] Six weeks later (4/30/30), the contract was accepted; no record exists of the amount nor of taking of bids. A later bill of $255.00 to the G.W. Ford Hardware Co. is listed.

March 19, 1930

TO THE SCHOOL BOARD,

I am taking the privilege of submitting my application for a position as teacher in your high school next year. I think the previous experiences I have had here will render me more capable of efficient service than would be possible if I had not been at the head of the school for the past two years. I think you know me to be able to teach subject matter and at the same time maintain proper conditions in the room. I am familiar with the system and I know the student personnel, which is a decided advantage to any teacher. If I have the honor of remaining in the school, I pledge myself to cooperate to the fullest with Mr. Grey and the entire organization and to more fully convince you of this, I am willing to work without a formal contract, as this would enable you to remove me at any time I may not be entirely satisfactory.

I am turning over to your new superintendent a well organized school of which I am very proud. I think you may have acted very wisely in selecting a man instead of a woman as administrator, since the demands of the system will be very much heavier next year than they have been this year. At present I am succeeding in creating a very wholesome atmosphere for Mr. Grey in the high school. I have no ill feelings whatever toward anyone connected with the system, and I shall be more than pleased to remain with you as a part of your organization. I know I can render you a very valuable service. In addition to my teaching duties, I shall be glad to assist Mr. Grey in every way possible connected with the school.

Please consider this proposition fairly and discuss it with Mr. Grey. If I am retained in the system, I promise you will have no cause to regret it.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. Briggs

Figure 4: Mrs. Briggs' Letter of Appeal

Insert Figure 5 about here

2.4 Mr. Grey's Tenure as Superintendent

The hiring of a full time male Superintendent had a number of consequences. Two items from the minutes suggest the beginning of these implications:

> After careful consideration, Mr. Inman moved and Mr. Carr seconded that we give Mr. Grey a contract for 12 months beginning July 1, 1930 -- at a salary of $2,500 per annum.
>
> Regularly moved & 2nd that Mr. Grey and Mrs. Tholozan proceed with the employment of teachers for the next year. (4/9/30)

The salary increase was a full twenty-five percent more than that paid his predecessor. The active involvement of the Superintendent in all kinds of activities originally a Board responsibility was to increase step by step over the years.

In the Summer of 1930, the Board, "regularly moved and seconded," that the new elementary school be named as Milford Village School and the high school be the Milford High School. Though the High School program was now in its third year, the financing remained precarious:

> Regularly moved & 2nd to raise the tuition of High School pupils from $40.00 to $60.00. Mr. Grey is authorized to notify patrons. (9/10/30

Mr. Grey was given additional duties:

> Regularly moved & 2nd to appoint Mr. Grey as attendance officer for the district. (11/12/30)

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of Midwest, and that I will faithfully and impartially discharge the duties of school director in and for the School District of Milford, to the best of my ability, according to the law, so help me God."

Figure 5: Oath of Office of School Board Members

The school's role in the larger community appears:

> A general discussion regarding tuition from other districts. Mr. Grey informs us that the payments are coming promptly and the enrollment is holding up well. (1/14/31)

The Board's involvement with the community also appears:

> Mutually agreed by the Board that we all attend the Annual County School Board Convention at Green City, Saturday Mar. 14-31. (3/11/31)

In May of 1931, a series of items carried the flavor of Mr. Grey's growing responsibilities:

> Regularly moved & 2nd that the Board levy a tax of 35¢ for Interest and sinking fund and to *accept the estimated budget for 1931-32 as submitted by Mr. Grey.* (Our Italics)
>
> Mr. William moved & 2nd by Mr. Easter that we approve the contracts for teachers as submitted by Mr. Grey and sign same.
>
> Regularly moved & 2nd that Mr. Grey proceed with his plans for a school picnic.
>
> Regularly moved by Mr. Williams & 2nd by Easter that we increase Mr. Grey's salary from $2500 to $3000 per year. (5/13/31)

The regular meeting of June 11, 1931, is noted for one major event:

> On account of having no quorum--no official business was transacted except the signing of Diplomas by the President and Secretary. (6/11/31)

In such auspicious circumstances the first high school graduating class was officially certificated.

Items continue to appear in interesting juxtaposition:

> Mr. Grey explained in detail the New School Law relative to High School Tuition that was recently passed by the General Assembly, signed by the Governor and is to become effective Sept. 14, 1931. (8/13/31)

And:

> Mr. Inman moved, 2nd by Mrs. Tholozan that the Superintendent of Schools, Mr. Grey, be authorized to exercise general supervision over the janitors of the several schools and to prescribe their hours and the work to be performed by them. (8/13/31)

Mr. Grey, as Superintendent, is progressively more and more involved in both external relations and internal operation of the School District. At this point in time, if our inferences are correct, the Superintendent mediates between the State and the Board. He "explained in detail" the evolving laws and regulations emanating from the State Capitol. In the past, one of the members of the Board wrote directly to the County Superintendent, to the State Department, and to the State University. As one reads the record of Board Minutes, one senses that the Board has hired a person it trusts and has confidence in, that it pays him increasingly well, and that it expects him to relieve the Board of a variety of chores and activities. While the Board retains "ultimate" control, power and authority, it now acts at a full step removed from day-to-day decision making in ever-widening areas of responsibility. The motion on janitors now reporting to the Superintendent follows by 2½ years (12/28), the responsibility given to Mrs. Briggs to supervise the cafeteria workers.

Although the Board minutes are not explicit in noting the Superintendent's regular attendance at Board meetings, it seems to have begun about 1931. Until then, each set of minutes indicate presence and absence of Board members but not of others. During this year, the language seems to shift from a particular Board member instructing or informing Mr. Grey to, "Mr. Grey explained in detail the New School Law ...." and not having been invited to be present to do so. Or:

> Mr. Grey explained that Mrs. Johnson's salary was below the legal standard required by the state in order that we get state credit for the extra High School work she is to carry out at Attucks School this year. In view of that, Mr. Inman made a motion - 2nd by Mr. Williams that we increase her salary $5.00 per month. Carried.
> (9/9/31)

In November, Mr. Grey joined the Board at a Saturday evening meeting of the County School Board Convention:

> County School Board Convention held at Fairwoods High School. Our school was represented by Mr. Grey, Mr. Carr, Mr. Inman, Mr. Easter, Mr. Williams & Mrs. Tholozan. Mr. Snyder explained in detail the new school law in regard to consolidation and redistricting of rural districts recently passed. (11/7/31)

Between regular meetings of the Board acts of nature occur, deliberately organized community institutions respond, and the School Board takes notice and responds with concern and good feeling, as well as its legal responsibiities:

> The secretary was instructed to write a letter of appreciation to each of the Fire Departments that responded to the call made on the night of Oct. 30 when the frame school building caught fire due to

> overheating. Regularly moved & 2nd to give the Milford Village Fire Dept. a stove.[14] $10.00 to the Crescent Fire Dept. and 2 boxes of cigars to the Germania Fire Dept.
>
> A report was made by Mr. Roundtree of the Fidelity Co. on the settlement for Insurance for the damage done to the school building in the recent fire. (11/15/31)

The role of specialist and generalist poses a problem at both the professional and non-professional level. The "way things were" is captured in the minutes:

> Mr. Lawrence moved - 2nd by Mr. Williams that we purchase material for table for the Milford Village Elementary School and have the janitors to make them at their spare time, also to place a storm door on the north side of the building. The motion carried. (12/14/31)

The same evening broader issues were brewing in the county and the Board, once again, seemed to be tackling them in its usual direct common sense style:

> No further business to come before the Board at this time the meeting adjourned at 8 o'clock in order that we might attend a mass meeting of the Boards of Education of the adjoining district at Cummings Hall, Table Rock in regard to the consolidation and re-districting of school districts. (12/14/31)

These efforts at school consolidation have had a checkered history in Midwest State and Suburban County. A local history of a part of Suburban County reports the following:

> In 1933 a county districting board met 16 times and emerged with a plan to merge the 90 little three

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[14] In January the Board voted the Milford Village Volunteer Fire Department --$15.00.

> director districts in the county down to 16 ... Wanting no part of this the board members campaigned against it and the measure failed all over the county.
> (P.D. 1977, p.34)[15]

No records regarding these meetings appear in the Board minutes.

In the first meeting of 1932, the format of the Board minutes took on a more formal view. Instead of a flowing handwritten record, the minutes were typed in a professional looking style.[16] Items were paragraphed. Marginal identifications were introduced for the first time. Formal indication that the Superintendent "was present" also appears. Bills were paid, old business was attended too, e.g., the volunteer fire department was voted $15.00. And the Superintendent's role continued to be elaborated:

> Mr. Grey reported a temporary suspension of Michael Untermeyer and Joe Dolan on account of misconduct in classroom. A general discussion followed. The matter was left in the hands of Mr. Grey to dispose of as he sees fit. (1/13/32)

No longer did the parent and youngster appear before the Board. No longer did the Board directly decide on appropriate next steps.

The Board, in early March of 1932, accepted applications of two incumbents and later in March accepted two others. The next item was:

> Each member pledged to support the incumbent candidates and work hard for the tax. (3/30/32)

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[15] Other data suggest the year was 1931 and the 90 three director districts were really 75 plus 15 consolidated or six director districts.

[16] Some of the very early minutes had been roughly typed.

The iron law of oligarchy worked less than perfectly and one incumbent won and the other lost.[17] They were duly sworn in the following week at a special Board meeting.

Apparently the Board felt the reasoning and results surrounding Mr. Grey's appointment had been successful:

> ... we employ an additional man teacher to act as principal in the absence of Mr. Grey and teach Physical Education and Science at the salary of $1,500.00. (4/21/32)

At the same meeting, one teacher was not rehired, and other teachers were offered contracts. One of the janitors, " ... was dismissed on account of possession of liquor on school property. Motion carried unanimously." (4/2//32) No mention of the economic depression occurs in the Board minutes, although the Superintendent was rehired at $250.00 per month for twelve months, was given a three year contract but with the provision that if the Board deemed it necessary to decrease (or increase) teacher's salaries the Superintendent's would be decreased or increased proportionately.

In August of 1932, at the regular Board meeting, one of our continuing themes, the education of Black children in the Milford School District, receives the following mention:

> The regular order of business was dispensed with to take care of a committee from the Waterford School District. The members of this committee present were Ben Olderman, President of the Waterford School Board;

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[17] The law was not totally less than perfect for the outside winner had been on the Board earlier but had lost the previous year.

> William Zener, Director of the Waterford School Board and Donald Day, Director of the Waterford School Board. Mr. Olderman was the spokesman and asked if they might be allowed to send the colored elementary pupils from the Waterford District to Attucks School in the Milford School District and what tuition would be asked. Mr. Grey explained that while the cost per pupil was much higher than $40.00 per year, that our present facilities would take care of these pupils without additional seating or teachers, and that, in view of this fact these pupils could be taken care of for $40.00 each for the school term 1932-33. This was satisfactory to the Waterford Committee and Mrs. Tholozan moved that we accept the colored elementary pupils from the Waterford District for the school year 1932-33 at $40.00 per pupil for a term of 10 months. Mr. Roberts gave his 2nd to the motion and the motion carried unanimously. The committee then adjourned and the meeting proceeded with the regular order of business. (8/10/32)

Within a month, the County redistricting issue reappeared and Mr. Grey and the Board members participated in the election of six members, one from each of the County's townships and one at large.

The interdependence of various public functions operating toward the common good appears in another minute:

> Mr. Williams moved that the Board of Education adopt a resolution that the Board go on record as not opposing the use of the school building for a polling place. Mr. Roberts 2nd the motion and the motion carried. (10/12/32)

In December, 1932, the Superintendent read the bills, #172-206, reported on fire insurance regarding the Clear Valley frame building, trucks on the school ground during school hours, and pamphlets available regarding the "tentative redistricting program." A transportation item appeared:

> The Superintendent recommended a change in the manner of paying the transportation of the colored High School

> pupils to Big City High Schools by paying the parents directly instead of paying the drivers of the cars. After due discussion, Mr. Inman moved that the Board of Education pay the parents directly for the transportation of their children to Big City High Schools. The motion was 2nd by Mr. Williams and the motion was unanimous favoring the motion. (12/14/32)

At a later meeting checks from $3.00 to $4.17 went to eight individuals for "Col. H. S. Trans."

The effects of the depression appeared in the Spring of 1933. In a series of split votes (3-3), a separating of issues and seeking advice of the County Superintendent, the Board finally voted to retain all of the teachers, to cut the salaries 10%, and to retain a ten month school year. Each contract carried the provision, "provided the school funds are available." In addition the Board added a supplement to the contract:

> ... it is the desire of the members of the Board that providing they can find suitable living quarters in the district, that they will be required to live within the district. (5/29/33)

Conflict continued in the Board with some motions not carrying for lack of a second, others split 4-2. The issues involved insurance on the buildings, replacing a teacher getting married, and the equalizing of janitors salaries--one down from $135.00 and the others up from $75.00.

In the Spring of 1934, discussion was held and a motion made and seconded that the Superintendent be given a new three year contract. In March the Board voted him a year's leave of absence because of illness. At that same meeting the first overall budget enclosed in the record of minutes appeared. It is reproduced in toto as Figure 6.

Insert Figure 6 about here

All fifteen teachers were retained in April, 1934, with small raises (most at $2.00 per month e.g., $105.50 to $107.50) although Mr. F. B Newsome who assumed some of Mr. Grey's duties had a salary increase from $135.00 to $150.00 per month. Except for Mr. Grey whose salary was $2500.00 per year, Mr. Newsome was the highest paid employee of the district.

In May the Board instituted the first fringe benefits to teachers with the simple item:

> Mr. Lawrence moved & 2nd by Mr. Easter that teachers be allowed 10 days per year with pay for sickness or death in the immediate family. Teachers to furnish a doctor's certificate of illness. The motion carried. (5/9/34)

As the 1933-34 school year ended the Board took two actions which seemed to have long term significance. First the Board voted formally to admit visitors:

> Mr. Easter moved & 2nd by Mr. Finley that we admit all visitors and let them voice their opinions or objectives (sic) and then ask them to retire while the Board carries on its business. The vote was 3 for and 2 against.
> (6/13/34)

For the first time formal secretarial help is available to the Superintendent:

> Mr. Jennings moved - 2nd by Mr. Finley that Mr. Grey employ someone as office assistant of $12.50 per week. The motion carried. Mr. Lawrence[18] voted against the proposition.

[18] Lawrence was frequently in the minority on the Board, e.g., his candidates to fill positions regularly lost. No inference could be made from the minutes as to the reasons.

Estimated Budget For 1934-35

Teachers Salaries	21,275.00	
Janitors Salaries	2,500.00	
School Supplies	600.00	
Janitors Supplies	225.00	
Playground Supplies	100.00	
Equipment	100.00	
Repairs & Replacements	150.00	
Libraries	100.00	
School Grounds	100.00	
Fuel	400.00	
Electric Services	325.00	
Telephone Service	200.00	
Water	175.00	
Insurance	500.00	
Colored Tuition	500.00	
Colored Transportation	300.00	
Board of Education	150.00	
Election Costs	50.00	
Enumeration Costs	50.00	
Miscellaneous Expenses	100.00	
Total Amount to be raised	27,900.00	27,900.00
1.20 levy will raise approximately	21,600.00	
State Revenue, railroad taxes, etc	5,000.00	
Tuition, Int. on Bank Bal. & Miscellaneous	1,300.00	
	27,900.00	27,900.00

Figure 6: The First Extant Budget of the Milford School District

The 1934-35 year started auspiciously in August. Discussions were underway regarding the acquisition of additional property adjacent to both the Attucks School, for playground space, and property adjacent to the Milford Village School. The third grade teacher petitioned to be released from her contract to teach in a prestigious community across the county; the Board so moved. A special meeting was called two weeks later:

> ... for the purpose of discussing the recent burglary committed at Clear Valley School.
>
> Mr. Easter requested Superintendent Grey to take charge of the meeting at this time Mr. Grey related to the Board and visitors[19] his stand, stating that his desire was not to prosecute to the extent of sending the culprits to reform school, but to sufficiently punish them, that there would be no accruence (sic) of their act.
>
> Members of the Board were asked to express their views. Mr. Finley was of the same opinion as Mr. Grey, Mr. Gottlieb, Mr. Easter and Mrs. Quales spoke briefly, their opinions being in harmony with Mr. Grey and Mr. Finley. Mr. Ingersoll expressed his views, saying that if it could be so arranged, that the boys would be sentenced and then put on parole to some responsible persons, he thought punishment would be sufficient. Mr. Matthews[20] thanked the members for their attitude, promising that he and his son would make full restoration for what had been taken. Mr. Caroline made a brief talk equivalent to Mr. Matthews'. Mr. Carr[20] expressed his views and agreed with Mr. Grey and members of the Board on their stand.
>
> There being no further discussion on this subject, the visitors were excused at 8:45 PM and the Board went into session.
>
> Mr. Easter called the meeting to order, and asked for a motion to the effect that the Board support Mr. Grey in his stand on the subject. (8/14/34)

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[19] Parents of the youngsters involved.

[20] While no first names are recorded, the names are the same of earlier Board Members. Both Mr. and Mrs. Matthews attended.

Three weeks later a brief item appeared in the minutes:

> At this time Mr. Grey briefly explained to the Board the punishment meted out to the boys at the trial which took place August 17, explaining that the boys were put on a six month parole with the understanding that it would extend longer if full restoration was not made by this time. (9/5/34)

Continued progress was made on the property additions and a discussion occurred concerning enrollments:

> Under new business, Mr. Grey spoke on the enrollment of all three schools. Clear Valley was about normal, whereas Milford Village and Attucks had fallen off. Mr. Grey asked the Board's consideration of taking two elementary pupils from any one family in any district at the tuition of one and one-half (1½). Mr. Easter moved and Mr. Gottleib 2nd, that we accept pupils on the above mentioned rate. The motion carried. (9/5/34)

The array of miscellaneous items that make up Board activity continued as usual: the school kitchen showed a profit of $3.91 for September, the monthly bills were read and approved, $3,000 was borrowed from a local bank to pay October and November bills, a motion was made and passed that a secret ballot be taken on coal bids, the vote was 4 to 2, a discussion was held on, " ... the necessity of laying sidewalks along the front of our school properties for childrens' safety," and finally:

> Mr. Lawrence moved, 2nd by Mr. Finley, that we have the school rooms sprayed each evening after school has been dismissed to rid rooms of flies. The motion carried. (10/3/34)

Later in the Autumn it was moved, seconded and carried:

> ... that we leave the use of the school building by all organizations in the hands of Mr. Grey. (11/7/34)

In January, the regular meeting on the 2nd failed for lack of quorum. A special meeting was called for January 9th, and it was noted:

> Mr. Grey being absent due to illness, Mr. Inman read the current bills. (1/9/34)

Two weeks later, a second special meeting was called:

> The Board of Education of the School District of Milford met at Clear Valley School January 29, at 8:00 p.m., for the purpose of determining the Board's desire to fill the vacancy caused by the death of our Superintendent, Mr. Grey. (1/29/35)

By Friday (2/1/35), after interviewing seven candidates, eliminating four, and taking two votes, Mr. McBride was elected on a 4-2 split vote. On the following Wednesday (2/6/35), it was noted at the regular meeting of the Board of Education that, " ... with our Superintendent, Mr. McBride, also in attendance." An era had ended, a new one had begun.

3. THE GENESIS AND EVOLUTION OF A SCHOOL DISTRICT: PRELIMINARY GENERALIZATIONS

3.1 Introduction

We have depicted, heavily with quotes from the minutes of the Board of Education, the early years in the genesis of the Milford School District. The chronicle continues much the same year after year in the Board's record. At this point we are moved to state some preliminary generalizations arising as we read the accounts. We hold these interpretations tentatively because they overlap heavily some of the thoughts that began in our study of the Alte School District (Smith 1978) and our study of Federal Policy in Action (Smith and Dwyer 1979). To us we seem to be moving to a codified coherent point of view. Others may see us "finding what we were looking for."[21]

As we moved inductively from items arising in our reading of the Board minutes, and later from Bulletins to the community, other documents, and a few interviews, several large categories arose. The first cluster involved the community or series of communities of which the school district is a part. One item is, for example, the changing population of the district. A number of items were part of the evolving processes and structures of the organization qua organization. For example new positions -- principal, superintendent, and secondary teacher appeared. Rules and regulations and standard operating procedures were codified. In turn these items flow into but can be discriminated from an educational category -- classrooms, curriculum, and teaching.

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[21] We speak in more detail to these issues in the methodological report, Volume VII of our study.

3.2 Community Items

In an important, perhaps major sense the school Board lies between the school and community. In modern jargon it is the interface. For some analytical purposes it can be clustered with the community, for other purposes it is part of the school system. But in its mediating, interfacing position and role it provides a view of both. Its minutes are full of items permitting generalization and speculation of key items in developing a perspective on the community.

County and State Government and Agencies

In the very early years of the district, the state influenced the Milford District mostly as a set of laws which indicated procedural rules, both opportunities and constraints. From 1910 through the 1920's, when the School Board Records began, the Clear Valley School operated as a "Common School District." When the Board sought to become a town school district it proceeded under Section 5618 of the Revised Statutes of Midwest State, of 1919. The County Clerk regularly audited the District treasurer's accounts. On occasion appeals for help were made to the State Department, e.g., procedures in becoming a district with a superintendent or to the State University for expert help on school buildings.

The potency of the state rules appears in another document, a brief history of the Milford High School, written by a Board member[22] for the first high school annual published in 1931, as the first group of youngsters received their diplomas:

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[22] One member of the graduating class indicated in an interview that it was Mr. Carr, then President of the Board, who wrote the account.

> Milford High School has a prehistoric period; an effort which, apparently failed, yet helped to make a path for the later success. In the Summer of 1924 a young man, Principal of the Clear Valley School, made a proposal that three of the four teachers would teach four ninth grade subjects during the following year for a stipulated increase in salary. The Board was inadequately informed as to the credit requirements of a High School but trusted the knowledge and ability of its principal and thought any venture forward was worth trying.
>
> Only 5 pupils started and when about mid season it was learned that the school had failed to receive credit from the State Department some of these dropped out. The venture was abandoned next year, but one of these pupils stepped into the second year of High School at Kennard and ultimately was graduated there. The effort was not wholly a failure. (H.S. Annual 1931, p.5)

Very little of this information appears in the sketchy Board minutes from the early years. What does appear is the constant checking of requirements with the State Department by the Board and by Mrs. Briggs at the Board's request. Having been burned earlier, as the above quote indicates, would not have been a bad inference from the minutes themselves. Mr. Carr returned a few paragraphs later to the theme of state control:

> After the regular inspection of the State Department had put its stamp of approval upon our first year of High the Board began to plan for the next year.
> (H.S. Annual 1931, p.5)

The state government continues to exercise its responsibilities.

Suburban County contained some seventy-five small school districts, all governed by three member boards and most operating one room schools. The education of adolescents was problematic in those districts. The beginnings of Milford High School had a flavor of "rural cosmopolitanism". As one member of the first graduating class commented:

> The interesting thing, I think when this high school was started, it, as you know, it drew from that end of the county and it drew one or two students from almost each one, like maybe one from Rhodes and another from Morrison and then there were two of us from Union.
> (TI 2/80)

In an important sense, Milford High School, was to serve these functions for its end of the county until a wave of post World War II consolidation swept the county -- and the state between 1949 and 1952.

Educationists, growing up, being educated and later teaching in large urban or metropolitan areas, seldom appreciate the role played historically by the county superintendent of schools. In the 1920's and 1930's, in Suburban County, which was then heavily rural, his communiques appear from time to time in the school Board minutes -- giving advice, informing the Board of meetings and generally playing the role of expert and commication link with the outside world of organizations, laws and rules affecting local public education. On one occasion, actually the first mention of the County Superintendent, he was brought in to help and give testimony regarding the dismissal of the principal and his wife who both taught in the school. Later he was instrumental in the initiation of the high school:

> On the recommendation of our County Superintendent, a teacher was secured with the necessary educational credits to teach four ninth grade subjects: English, Science, History and Mathematics. Mrs. Briggs, the new High School teacher, coming from Western Tennessee, took hold of her job with energy and decision, made herself familiar with the requirements of the State Law, and gave the Board much needed assistance in the purchase of the required library and scientific apparatuses.
> (H.S. Annual 1931, p.9)

In short, those governmental units provided not only constraints but methods to help carry out the desires of the Board and indirectly the community.

The Annual Election

While a Newtonian clockwork metaphor is out of favor among some post positivist epistomologists, a clockwork regularity appears in the annual school board elections in the Milford School District. Each Spring the minutes report on who has filed for the election, the selection of judges, the votes garnered by each individual, the swearing in of new members and the election of officers within the Board. As we have indicated state laws governed the very format of size of Board, e.g., three director common school or six director township school, the procedures for changing from one to another, the requirements for an annual election, and the procedures to govern those elections.

Community Participation in the Annual School Meeting

Grass roots democracy and local control of schools appears in its most vivid form in the set of records entitled "Record of Annual School Meetings", the first category in the E. F. Hobart new edition of "Records of School District." The items that appear in the earliest extant record, April 7, 1914, and reappear year in and year out:

1) Election of a director -- usually one of three person board
2) Voting the length of school year -- usually ten months
3) Authorizing building use for community groups "as specified by law"

4) Voting for County Superintendent of Schools
Coleman -------- 5 votes
Snyder --------- 3 "
Taylor --------- 0 "
Quinn ---------- 0 "
(4/6'15)

5) The small number of voters present
1914 (director elected by 17 vote majority)
1915 (8 votes for County Superintendent)
1916 (29 voters present)
1917 (53 voters voted for Directors)
1920 (142 votes cast for Directors)
(153 votes cast: 94 for, 34 against building a new school house)
1922 (53 votes in director election)

The small size of the community, the direct involvement of a small coterie of citizens, and the resolution of community differences by "voting" appear and reappear. A School Board member from the 1920's commented this way as he recalled his early experiences:

> EKT: We started you might say from the ground up -- all we had was a 2" water main in the streets and cinder roads
>
> Obs: So nothing was paved at that time
>
> EKT: Nothing was paved at that time. We didn't have any electric, we had to come out to outside toilets and we had come out to coal oil lamps and gasoline stoves in the summer time. So we organized the Milford Village Improvement Association. And after that was organized then the next thing the school problem came along 'cause people started moving out and they had children. Well, we found out where the school was and Herbert Jackson, he was the school director at that time and he come over to our meeting one night and explained the school and told us that it was Clear Valley School District. So after that we decided that since we were starting to grow in the community we needed a -- we wanted a member on the school board
>
> Obs: Oh, in Milford Village apart from the Clear Valley area?

> FKT: Well, Clear Valley District covered everything. It covered everything from the city limits up to the highway and out to about Richmond Road and down to the city line and so the Spring election in 1920 the Improvement Association nominated me to be candidate and filed its candidate for school board and I was elected in April 1920.

Another citizen who attended Clear Valley School reflected back on this aspect of the community:

> Mrs. T: What they had -- this was all farms over here -- that was sort of -- in the people's minds it was two sections -- Milford on that side of the railroad tracks was the poor people and on this side of the railroad tracks was the people with just a little bit more money.
>
> Obs: The "good" people?
>
> (Laughter)
>
> Mrs. T: Any way you want to put it.

Early on, with the assertiveness of the Milford Village Improvement Association the belief seemed to be accepted that one member of the Board should come from each of the three main geographical and population areas of the district.

> Obs: Now, when you said you were part of that Milford Village Improvement Association -- where did the other school board members come from at that time?
>
> FKT: The other two came from this side -- from Rowlings Hill and from the -- on the west side of the Carleton Bouleward.
>
> Obs: Okay -- and you were on the east side?
>
> FKT: Yeah -- I was a mile east of the school.
>
> Obs: Okay.

A Rolling Structure of Power and Authority

Reading Board minutes may be a very limited way of viewing the nature, genesis, and consequences of power and authority in school affairs. In the early years and the long period of the township school several reasonably concrete generalizations seem evident:

1) Incumbents mostly won elections.
2) The Board mostly supported incumbents.
3) New members often had run unsuccessfully earlier or were appointed to fill out terms for resigned members.
4) The Board picked and released superintendents.
5) A changing Board brought changes or threats of change in superintendents.
6) Superintendents recommended, hired and fired faculty but teachers also were consulted from time to time regarding superintendents.

The view that comes forward is a gradual or rolling structure of power and authority. Mostly there is stability and gradual change within the structure. Occasionally a cataclysm occurs. Partly, that stability seems to be built into the very structure of the Board in that two of the six members are up for election every year. Consequently, except for resignations, it takes three years to replace totally the incumbents on the Board. Majorities can change more readily, for two new members coming on to a split Board can shift a minority to a majority opinion. Later instances of this occurred and not only make for drama, but clearly present an image of our label, "a rolling structure of power and authority." Obvious historical models for this kind of structure appear in the federal Constitution and in state governments. People in power in an earlier era wanted change to be possible but wanted it to come gradually.

Conflicts and Politics

Historically, public schools have often been stereotyped as a non-political institution. Our recent experience (Smith 1978, Smith and Dwyer 1979) suggests that that is not so. Our reading of the Milford documents suggests that this was not so fifty years ago, at least in the Milford School District. Earlier we had commented upon the crowded conditions in the schools in the late 1920's, and difficulty in getting a bond issue passed for the second school, the Milford Village School:

> But opinions differed as to the proper place for the new building and the proposition was defeated. Later in the Summer (1929), another differently worded proposition met with like fate and it became evident that the school year would be a hard one. (H.S. Annual 1931, p. 6)

Conflict existed. The political processes of majority vote were at work, to the dismay of the Board and faculty. The alternative solutions were also in debate, as were the implicit perspectives related to the solutions. The account continued:

> An obvious and *rather frequently heard solution* for the crowded conditions in the school was to discontinue the High School, or at least, to halt its advance at the tenth grade. But the Board, in conference with its Superintendent, agreed that such a step would have a very discouraging effect upon *the forward looking elements* of the district, and it could not bring itself to *desert, midway,* that *expectant, persistent class* of boys and girls now ready to enter the eleventh grade. (Our italics)
> (H.S. Annual 1931, p. 6)

The pervasiveness of the conflict received mention a bit further on in the account:

> As the year (1929-30) rolled on the discord which had arisen in the district found a counterpart in the faculty and to some extent in the Board and among the pupils. (H.S. Annual 1931, p. 6)

A perspective on the nature of conflict resolution also appeared:

> Fortunately there were *enough cool heads scattered around* to prevent any open breaks, though the tension was keen enough to impair the efficiency of the system. (Our italics) (H.S. Annual 1931, pp. 6-7)

The interplay of events essential to our analytical position continued to receive mention:

> However, the annual State inspection again gave its approval of the School as of accredited rank, though accompanied by criticisms of the inadequate physical facilities. (H.S. Annual 1931, p. 7)

The continuous impact of resources -- their absence, limits, or presence, aroused emotions one might expect:

> Even then, relief was in sight, for, during the Fall a compromise bond issue had been passed which would provide eight new classrooms. And when, at the Spring election of 1930, a tax was voted sufficient to carry the burden of a four year High School, a sigh of thanksgiving escaped some of us that our worst year was behind and that better times were at last in sight.

Mrs. Briggs, described by a former student[23] as "abrasive", "aggressive", and "difficult to get along with", was replaced that year. (TI 2/13/80).

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[23] Mr. Elbrecht commented that as a student he was one of several students who appeared before the Board to discuss school problems. In his view Mrs. Briggs had problems with the students, the faculty, and the Board.

Another graduate of the first class, in reflection back over fifty years commented with good humor, "When she said frog, you jumped." (TI 2/26/80). A number of new teachers were hired. The new building and additions to the old were available. And, "A new superintendent was in charge of the entire system." (H.S. Annual 1931, p. 7). A clear perception of his role appears in the wake of the trying and conflictual time just prior to his appointment:

> The new head, Mr. Grey, *assumed no teaching duties*, his *whole attention* being directed to the organization of the faculty, the curriculum, and the student body into an *efficiently working* educational institution. He permitted himself only one activity other than administration and that was the High School athletics. (Our italics)
> (H.S. Annual 1931, p. 8)

The second superintendent was to resolve the conflicts within the school; the Board continued to be both a forum for that debate in the community and a resolution, through elections, of those differences.

The Press of Population Growth

While just a trickle compared to the flood which will come in later years (the 50's and 60's), the population growth in the early part of the century forced the school from its initial one room frame building to a frame three room building to the first brick and stone building built in 1926. Later, with increasing population, secondary classes were added year by year. People who argue the potency of demographic variables in understanding schooling -- its nature and changes -- will find us among them. Early on, they fueled, in part, the gradual development of Milford School District.

Much later, actually in the present years of the District, the community is faced with declining enrollments. Two elementary schools have been closed; a "housing committee" has under discussion possible additional closings. As one central office staff member commented, "If people thought building schools was difficult, they ought to see what closing one is like."[24] In our view, as we will elaborate later, declining school enrollments, is the front edge of much larger societal problems -- zero population growth, stable GNP, zero sum games in reallocating the material goods and benefits in our society, and general decline of natural resources on "space ship earth." Solutions to societal problems under these new conditions will amount to a new ball game with a new set of rules. Educators are among the first community professionals to try to solve these problems and in so doing to actually try to define and re-define the problems, the rules, the criteria, much less the solutions. Small wonder, that there frequently is a beleagured quality among school people these days. But, as we said, those were problems for a later generation of Milford citizens and educators.

Changing Technological Quality of Life

Item by item, the schools changed with the increasing technological development of the community. Notes about wiring for electricity, septic tanks, attaching water lines appear throughout the record of the mid and late 1920's. The schools keep playing leap frong with the material standard present in the community at large. Frame buildings gave way to brick and stone buildings. Wood burning stoves became coal furnaces and later were to become gas and oil central heating plants. The public utilities, e.g., water and telephones reach the schools and assume a regular or "natural" place in the order of things. A comment by an early resident who had moved to the community about 1920 gives a picture of this part of the world:

---

[24] This is a close paraphrase of a conversation 2/80.

> Obs: Yeah -- so and at that time, the community was pretty much a rural area except there was a little community in Milford Village itself?
>
> FKT: Yeah -- yeah
>
> Obs: A few hundred people or how many would have been there?
>
> FKT: When I moved out here we didn't have I don't think a hundred people.
>
> Obs: So just twenty-thirty families maybe?
>
> FKT: Say fifty -- about fifty families at that time but then it started to continually growing -- in other words, it came fast after that -- by 1923 we made an arrangement with the Metropolitan Electric that if most of us bought an electric range we could get our service installation free. In 1923 they erected the electric lines and we got the telephones and the electric service from 1923 on and then from on -- later on the roads came and so forth.

In this context, the later conflicts at Kensington over carpets and air conditioning take on a much different quality. They seem to us now as one more item in making the schools more and more like life in the rest of the community. Sometimes the community is more or less supportive or antagonistic to these changes. Irrevocably, we would argue, the schools change toward congruency with the general technological changes.

The Vividness of the "American Dilemma"

From the first recorded minutes of the Board of Education which mentioned fire insurance for the "colored school bldg.," we were surprised by the quantity of continuing references to the "colored school." Education in Midwestern State was racially separate by state law. Whether it was "separate but equal" is only slightly less clear. Item by item both schools improved; item by item the Attucks School seemed to change only after the Clear Valley School changed. Within what would now be called institutionalized racism, for example, there was frequent reference to the "colored school" even after the school had received a formal name, the Attucks School. It is also true that the Board did concern itself regularly with the education of Black children.

With a vivid deja vu quality, the hiring of Black teachers, the sending of Black high school students out of the district, the receiving of out of district Black pupils as a help to the other districts and as a means to fill rooms with low enrollments, and all the problems of transportation and its financing, appear in the minutes of early Board meetings.[25] The curriculum of the Attucks School received no more notice in these minutes than did the curriculum of the Clear Valley and Milford Village Schools. A teacher[26] at the Attucks School in the late 1930's commented favorably upon the teaching arrangements. It was her first teaching job. She was picked from a class of a dozen and a half, eight of whom had been interviewed:

> The Attucks School was a one through eight school for Blacks. There were two teachers there, one teacher

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[25] We have not been able to find a comprehensive history of Black Education in Suburban County. For some interesting similarities see our study of the Alte School District (Smith 1978).

[26] Mrs. Shields later helped integrate another community school system after 1954, has been a successful and respected elementary and high school teacher, and won a "teacher of the year award". She left the Milford District because of declining enrollments and a desire to start a family.

> taught grades one through three then after that the grades skipped and then was a four, six and eight one year, then a five, I guess a three, five and seven the next .... I had only fifteen students so we had a graduation class the first year and because I did grouping anyway we just grouped the students and from there on we had a graduation class every year .... Now I taught there for five years, and there were only 35 students in the school. There was no contact at all that I recall with the White schools or any of the White teachers or any of the White administration. It was a totally segregated situation and the only person that I ever saw was Mr. McBride who was the Superintendent.
> (TI 8/15/80)

Many of Mrs. Shields comments involved a comparison with the Big City School District where most of her college classmates taught. Those comparisons give a further flavor to the Attucks School within Milford:

> When I graduated they (Big City School District) had a surplus of teachers so you were on a waiting list and the rating list was on the basis of your rank in class and as vacancies accurred then you were called. Well, at that time in the Black grade school there were 45 and 50 students per grade in the room perhaps. Well, I had friends who had 45 children and 15 books. Supplies were bad in the Black schools .... I never did teach in Big City .... I stayed in Milford because even though I had multiple grades, I had small numbers. I had all the supplies I wanted. I had a community, the school was a community and I liked that. I had all kinds of parent co-operation, no discipline problems hardly, really ever. So those were all pluses to me so I just -- when I was called I just never went to Big City. I didn't want to go and then I got married after about a year anyway. And I couldn't teach -- at that time -- because you still couldn't teach married. (TI 8/80)

In short, a small isolated community of families, working in a local factory, living in company houses, seemed to go about its business in a fashion isolated from the larger community. The American dilemma played itself out in a variety of ways. This was Milford's way.[27]

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[27] For some similar comments on other schools in other communities see Peshkin (1978 pp. 203-206).

Summary

Not only did we not start out to be historians, but we did not begin as community sociologists. None the less, the data and our curiosity dragged us in those directions. The lessons we seem to be learning seem important for other educators, and especially for other educational innovators. The schools are enmeshed in multiple communities -- local, state, and national. These communities have organized themselves, over the years, and that seems very important as well, to accent both stability and change and to accent both local and distal (central) power and responsibility. As values, as issues, and as procedural structures, these are very old problems, topics, and themes in political science and community sociology. While our analysis may not be especially novel or illuminating to scholars in these disciplines, we have been surprised by our own lack of sophistication and even more, the naivete of some of our colleagues advocating change.

3.3 Organizational Structure and Process

Our initial study of the Kensington Elementary School carried the subtitle, "An Organizational Analysis of an Elementary School." Any school as an organization fits into a larger organization, the school district. As we read district records and constructed a chronicle or narrative we began to form slightly more complex abstractions regarding "organizational structure and process" which might be applicable to the genesis of any school district and which helps provide a context for understanding not only the Kensington School but schools in general.

The School Board: Pervasive, Potent and Responsible Agent

The narrative of the School District, based heavily on the early minutes of the Board meetings, leaves little room for doubt concerning the Board's pervasiveness, potency and responsibility for conducting schooling in the Milford School District. Occasionally the minutes record a meeting that captured, in microcosm, that interpretation. The evening of September 28, 1927, was one such occasion. Further, the minutes seemed to capture some of the style of the Board. After approving the payment of some fifteen bills the minutes moved this way:

> Regularly moved & 2nd that laws marked exhibit A[28], as submitted by the teachers of the Clear Valley School dated Sept. 26th, be multigraphed and the penalties of disobedience or any infractions on said rules be thoroughly explained and a copy thereof be sent to the parents and guardians of each and every child attending the Clear Valley School. Motion carried.
>
> Regularly moved & 2nd that rules marked Ex. A be approved and adopted by the Board and a copy be furnished each teacher.
>
> Billy Lamb, a pupil in 2nd grade under teacher Miss Grace, appeared before the Bd. of Ed. with parents to answer charges preferred by Mr. Craig as to why suspension of Sept. 21st should not be affired. After a complete hearing and a warning, the suspension was lifted and parents ordered to return child to school 9/29. Charges as submitted by Mr. Craig dated 9/28 marked Exhibit B attached herewith.
>
> Regularly moved & 2nd that the Secy. be instructed to inquire of the School Faculty why the necessity of homework or home studies. Motion carried.
>
> Regularly moved & 2nd that the Secy. be instructed to order 12 copies of "Windmills of Holland" from Myers and Carrington, as requested by Mr. B. N. Earlhem.
>
> (9/28/27)

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[28] No extant record exists of these rules.

The final two items from these minutes related to hiring a teacher and seeking competitive bids on repair work.

Several interpretive comments seem in order. As noted earlier, the Board approves and pays each item of expense of the district. It "elects," literally a vote, early on, each teacher hired in the district. Now, almost for the first time, the Board establishes the rules of behavior in the school and holds a hearing and dispenses final judgment on deviancy. In addition it inquires into issues of "homework" and approves the purchase of multiple copies of a particular book, Windmills of Holland. The Board seemed in close communication with the teachers; accepting rules and penalties as policy and inquiring into their views of home study. A closeness and directness with pupils and parents existed as well.

At several points we have interpreted Board action as having a style, using words like, "direct" or "common sense." The image which kept appearing over and over again is that the Board was able to cope with the problems as they perceived and defined them.

But it is the image of "pervasive, potent, and responsible" agent that is our main point here. While we don't have interviews from the individuals at the time and only a few documents such as the nine page history from the first High School Annual, the inference we came to was one captured in the general label. If that is correct, it seems important to compare and contrast with Boards in succeeding years and in other communities.

Incrementalism and Muddling Through

School policy seemed to evolve, item by item as the Board faced particular concrete problems. Beyond those enumerated above, the records are a litany of:

> Moved & 2nd that Safety signs for road be investigated. Carried. (9/18/26)

And,

> Moved & 2nd that sign be made reading 'Vehicles not permitted on School grounds during play period.' Carried. (9/18/26)

And,

> Moved & 2nd school be dismissed Fri. 24th acct. exposition Day. (9/22/26)

And,

> Moved & 2nd that in case of any contagious disease in a family the other members of family be excluded from school until disease is over. Carried. (1/19/27)

The most general statement capturing this kind of development is what Lindblom (1969) has called muddling through or incrementalism. He contrasts this to the "rational" actor model.

While this incrementalism and muddling through concept, "jumps out at us now," our data gathering and interpretation comes later in time, after our Federal Policy in Action research. Perhaps, too, the ideas are most relevant to new, small, growing, developing, creative organizations. When one has a history, a social structure, a standard way of doing things, a policy handbook, or an entrenched establishment, perhaps the point is less well taken. But, the environment always keeps changing, the district always keeps responding -- sometimes proactively and sometimes reactively -- and, perhaps, keeps muddling through.

Specialization of Positions and Functions

When the school was a Common District School, and even before, if our set of records is correct, a one room school began in 1850, a single teacher taught in the school. By the mid 1920's, a teaching principal is at the school and teachers are elected, "hired", for particular grades, one and two, five and six, and so forth. Later, in 1929, as a high school is begun the district hired secondary teachers and the principal became a half time superintendent.

Gradually, specialization of positions and functions occurred. Today the district central offices buzz with assistant superintendents, public relations officers, night school administrators, federal contracts specialists and a dozen assistants, secretaries and support personnel. Part of our later analytical task will be to sort out the antecedents for these changes. Is it primarily simple growth and expansion? Or are the objectives and domains of schooling broadening as well? Is there a simple paralleling of the complexity of American society? What happens to these processes and their specific positional outcomes if our current image of declining enrollments, dropping socioeconomic status and racial change is true. Not to mention, are our speculations regarding zero population growth, constant GNP and scarcity of natural resources.

We might ask also, what are the limits of specialization. In the current era, the Kensington School has a materials center coordinator, remedial reading teacher, speech therapist, counselors, special education teacher and teacher aide. On several occasions principals and teachers have speculated in a way which suggests that specialization may have out run its benefits in the School and the District.[29]

Finances: Resources for Schooling

If, as we argue shortly, that a dearth of discussion in school Board minutes occurs surrounding curriculum, the opposite can be said for discussions of money and finances. Those appear at every meeting, usually in multiple guises, strands and events. Whether this is broader economic phenomenon, an outgrowth of the mixed monopolistic capitalist system which characterizes the country as a whole or whether it is a religious phenomenon, a protestant view on original sin and the depravity of mankind, or a simpler moral/political view that financial bases of power are the most corruptible forms and hence needed to be guarded against the most, or perhaps its that early great American trait of being close with the dollar, we do not know. Regularly the Board raised resources through tax and bond levies voted by the citizens of the community. On occasion they borrowed money from banks in nearby Big City to meet expenses when unevenness in tax collections occurred. The dispensing of funds occurred through serially numbered checks following a reading of bills by Board members and later the superintendent. The Board treasurer carried a $20,000 bond in the early years. Once a year and with every change in treasurer of the Board, the county treasurer audited the districts books.

[29] We raise this issue in some detail in Volume IV of our final report, Kensington Today: Sailing Stormy Straights: A View of Educational Policy in Action.

In such context, it is not difficult to see the easy possibility of the school superintendent being very busy with and concerned about finances. Nor is it difficult to see him being recruited for and developing a businessman's orientation and perspective.

The Evolving Role of the Superintendent

The story of Mrs. Briggs, the half time first superintendent, has been told elsewhere and a few mysteries remain. Why did the Board solicit her to join the faculty and begin the high school? Why were her promotions so rapid? Why did the Board refuse to retain her as a teacher when the new superintendent was hired? Her story, and those questions, soon become context for the image of Mr. Grey, the first full time superintendent gradually enlarging the position of superintendent as item by item he took on activities, duties, and responsibilities which earlier had been done by individual members of the Board or by the Board as a collectivity.

The role of the early superintendents of the Milford School District seems closest to what Button (1961), Callahan (1964, and Callahan and Button (1964) call "the superintendent as business manager (1910-1929)," or "school executive" although none of the labels seems to quite capture Briggs, Grey or McBride. Perhaps "jack-of-all-trades" or "Topsy" would be closer. The superintendents seemed to gradually be given the multiple responsibilities for administering the school system. This "generalist" role seems to be its own kind of specialization, that is different from teaching self-contained 5th and 6th grade, different from teaching high school Latin and English, and different from cooking in the cafeteria or being a maintenance worker.

Callahan has commented:

> Beginning about 1900 the conception of the role of the chief administrator of the schools began to change. This change occurred not because of any change in the nature of the work or the quality of preparation of the teacher nor because of any basic change in the purpose of the school. Rather, the change was a direct result of the impact of powerful social forces on the one side and the institutional weakness of education, and especially the superintendent, in the public schools on the other. (1964 p. 7)

While this may be true of the large city superintendency in the early 20th Century, it does not seem to capture the empirical reality in the origination and evolution of the role in the Milford School District, and possibly other rural districts. Several aspects seem to be important. The school system *was* changing. Milford was growing larger, more buildings and more teachers. Its "purposes" were expanding -- a high school had been created. It's non educational activities had increased -- a cafeteria and lunch program was instituted. Second, its relationship to outside groups -- expecially the county and the state -- was becoming more complex.

The vulnerability thesis -- powerful social force and institutional weakness of educators -- seems a shade off the realities of Milford. In the 1920's and 1930's, before the rise of labor unions, social security, and due process every working person seemed vulnerable. In Milford, janitors, teachers, principals and superintendents arrived and departed at the pleasure of administrative superiors and eventually the potent school Board. And school Board members "came and went" at the annual pleasure of the citizenry. The vividness of teacher turnover and janitorial firings under Mrs. Briggs, and her replacement by the Board (after hearings from pupils and teachers) we found to be high drama.

As our later superintendents are introduced and their stories told, we will try to move toward more abstract interpretations. At that point we will review more intensively the Callahan and Button perspective. For the moment, we are struck with the political nature of the position responsive to the Board and community and with the broad array of managerial tasks which the Board gradually was delegating to the incumbents of the position.

Fate of Old School Buildings

Unlike old soldiers, school buildings neither die nor fade away, they are sometimes reconditioned and used forever. The original frame building of the Clear Valley School, according to the Board meeting in the Summer of 1926, became the residence of the custodian. A year later, pressure for a high school program arose and the Board looked for a place to house the new program:

> Committee of all board members to meet at the Clear Valley School Sunday afternoon July 17th, 1927 at 2 PM to consider the necessities of reconditioning the old school for occupancy of 1 room to be used for high school work. (1/13/27)

Immediately thereafter bids for roofing, carpentry, and painting were accepted for the remodeling.

The following Autumn (10/12/27) partitions were ordered constructed "in rooms occupied by Mr. & Mrs. K. Talcott as living quarters" and to " .... change room arrangements for smaller children to the new school building and 7th and 8th grade pupils to the old school." (10/12/27)

These processes of changing utilization continued and are captured in a delightful quote from the account of "Boys' Basketball" in the first High School Annual in 1931:

> The first thing confronting the boys when their thoughts first turned to basketball was a place to play. This did not stump them very long. There was the old building with a partition separating two large rooms. Bringing up tools with which to work the boys tore out this partition, put up goals at either end and -- low and behold -- a basketball court 50 feet long, 30 feet wide, and 13 feet high.
> (H.S. Annual 1931, p. 41)

Summary

At times we wonder about our sophistication as social science theorists. When the school district is conceived as a system or an organization several key items or elements capture most of the phenomena and events in our story. The boundary of the district as an organization can be drawn as including or excluding the school board. As we indicated, sometimes it is best conceived as part of the community system and sometimes as part of the district as a system. In Iannaccone and Lutz'(1969) analysis it would be a point of tangency, a part of both and mediating between the two. To anticipate our later discussion of the "longitudinal nested systems model", the Board mediates control of one system upon another. In the District, in those early years, no questions existed regarding authority and social power. The Board "moved, seconded, and voted" on resources, personnel, organizational structure and procedures. The District seemed to change by a process of incrementalism or muddling through. Problems arose, both in the environment and within the organization. Discussions were held, common sense inquiries occurred, decisions were made. Sometimes the organization increased in size -- new buildings -- in complexity -- new positions, rules and procedures -- and in specialization.

3.4 Classrooms, Curriculum and Teaching

The Dearth of Educational Talk: An Introduction

Whether it's the nature of the Board's discussions, the nature of minutes which record decisions and actions, or the particular secretaries, the record is remarkable for the dearth of items regarding curriculum, teaching, or educational philosophy. Perhaps, too, and in spite of the Deweyian revolution going on in the intellectual centers, the common school is a common school is a common school in the rural and small town communities of America in the 1920's and 1930's. From time to time references to science equipment and bills to book companies and map companies occur. Later accounts of the consideration of sewing machines and a movie projector which would show both silent and talking pictures appeared. And, early on, money for balls, bats and gloves and a reference or two to renting a neighboring basketball court appeared. (The varsity football team didn't arrive until 1954) Occasional references were made to teachers teaching particular grade levels in the elementary school and to subjects -- science, math, English and social studies at the High School.

But no reference occurred to controversies such as evolution in science nor were there any discussions recorded concerning the limits of literary realism nor of the economics and politics taught within social studies. As we've indicated, the basics seem to have been taught and no debate was recorded over phonics, project methods, or the whole child.

One final speculation, and it is a speculation, it's almost as though the Board provided the resources: taxes, buildings, material supplies, teachers and administrators and they, the teachers and administrators, were to bring the ideas, the structure, shape and scope of the curriculum, and the methods of teaching from their normal school training and their own experiences. In general, except for discipline perhaps, the local society was both homogeneous on the one hand and accepted in structure on the other hand, that the phenomenon of education went along easily and "naturally". Perhaps, too, that's the serene part of what people often mean by "the good old days".

Currently, the Board spends one of its two monthly meetings on curriculum. Presentations are made by specialists, by teachers, and by principals. Sometimes, problems, "squeaky wheels" receive attention. Other times "slide-tape" shows of special events are celebrated.

The Gradual Expansion of Programs

When our story began in the 1910's, the Milford District was a small two teacher elementary school. The record is one of gradual expansion of programs. The initial major focus was continuing the programs for adolescents by establishing a high school, year by year. The curriculum grew subject by subject. Extra curricular or play activities originally were a bat and ball, later basketball came in and still later (1954) varsity football was to appear. Similarly, a night school program for adults began at the Attucks School in the 1930's, later a kindergarten program was initiated. Accounts of sewing machines and stoves indicate the rise of a home economics program.

Teacher Role and the Organization of Instruction

The earliest Board records we've been able to find indicates that Clear Valley School was a two teacher school in 1913.[30] Miss Witteman was paid $75/month, Miss Butcher was paid $60 per month.

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[30] A secondary source indicated a one room school existed in the district from the middle or latter part of the 19th Century.

During the earliest years for which we have records, the organization, the school, the multiple jobs of the teacher, and aspects of the governance of the school are caught in brief notes from the Board minutes. For instance the comment:

> .... procure .... more desks in the primary room (12/18/13)

clearly implies that the eight grades were broken into a primary and upper grade room. Later comments in the 1920's about the "colored school" used a similar analytical scheme. A further comment from an early Board meeting stated:

> Resolution drawn and ordered given to the teachers -- requiring teachers to be at school 20 minutes before nine each day and give careful attention to heating and ventilating and also to give them the Christmas Holidays on condition that they comply with this request. (12/18/13)

Not only were custodial duties part of the role but vacations were quid pro quo for the time in those morning, before school duties. In these minutes, and in later months as well, note was made of the contingency between teacher reports and their monthly salary payments:

> Teachers warrants for next ensuing mo. ordered drawn when report is properly made. (12/18/13)[31]

Some kind of record keeping has been a part of teaching for a long time -- at least in Milford. As we read accounts of the history of schools in Suburban County, these records are required by the County Superintendent, who in turn is acting on the basis of laws enacted by the Midwest State Legislature.

[31] Washington University night school and summer school, interestingly enough, still adheres to this procedure. It does get the grades reported.

While the label "inservice training" either was not invented, was unknown to the Board, or perhaps just not used, the phenomenon was present. The minutes phrased it simply:

> Day or two to be allowed teachers to visit schools. (9/27/16)

No reciprocal demands were noted, in contrast to some of our earlier aspects.

The Student Body

The Board minutes speak only of enumeration of pupils and the desire for educating the children of the community, at least at the common school level -- reading, riting and rithmetic plus a little more. The genesis of the high school drew selectively an unusual group of youngsters. We have already commented that they came from nearby districts as well as Milford. When looking at a photograph of their classmates during an interview the following exchange occurred:

> Mr. Simmons: .... he's president of an insurance company, and he founded a publishing company, and like I said, this gentleman here up on top of the flag pole there, he was president of the Metropolitan Public Commission ....
>
> Obs: A pretty interesting bunch of people
>
> Mr. Elbrecht: I was going to say that it was sort of an elite group of students because, not to throw bouquets or anything but there were only, like I mentioned before, one or two of us from each of these outlying schools plus a few from the Milford area. And we really wanted an education because it wasn't easy in those days. We didn't have bus service and all the facilities that we have now. I mean, it was very primitive you might say. (TI 2/1980)

Class Size

The Board records contain few particulars related to class size. In 1922, the following appeared:

> Moved & 2nd that new room or north room be equipped with 40 chair desks, 1 teacher's desk, and 1 bookcase to be purchased from American Seating Co. see contract on file. Motion carried. (9/28/22)

Our general impressions from the records of numbers of teachers and the discussion from time to time of adding a half time teacher or converting a half time teacher to full time is that the Board implicitly view small classes as important educationally. The high school graduating class of eleven youngsters in 1931 supports this interpretation. In the late 1930's, Mrs. Shields, a teacher at the Attucks School, contrasted her dozen to twenty youngsters (at four grade levels, 5th - 8th) with her teachers college peers who taught classes of 40-50 in Big City. The class size difference was one major factor in her staying at Milford when an opportunity came to teach in Big City.

Free Text Books

Milford took a giant stride in increasing the availability of public education in the Spring of 1914:

> Ordered printing up of Annual Meeting notices with a clause to have meeting vote on the proposition to have free text books for all pupils. (3/16/14)

Some sixty years later, Superintendent Spanman would be in trouble for assessing special fees for materials and the Kensington School would be envied for "free-free" books, e.g., 30 sets of encyclopedias, that is books given to the district by book companies. But in 1914, progress continued:

> Ordered spending of $10.00 for library books. Brock a committee of one to attend to purchasing or contracting for textbooks for school -- free textbooks. (4/30/14)[32]

These issues received further clarification and presumably elaboration in 1922:

> The principal was authorized to order textbooks and misc. school supplies and present bills to Clerk. Maximum for the textbooks 200.00 Misc. school supplies 60.00. (9/28/22)

In short, the partially graded school (2 teachers) possessed textbooks as one of its major instructional tools. The graded elementary concept appears early also:

> Fourth and sixth grade books for next year's use to be ordered before close of this school term. (4/4/18)

An image of a "assign-study-recite" text book based curriculum and instruction emphasis seems not incongruent as an inference from the Board minutes

Instructional Time: Days and Hours

Reading early school Board minutes takes on special meaning when one has a vision of items from Kensington's beginning and the superintendent's mandate regarding the length of the school year and the length of the school day. His vision of the 12 month year and the individually tailored length of the school day ran up against long term precedents. For instance:

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[32] The record of the annual meeting indicated that the vote was "unanimous" of all citizens attending.

> Next term of school to be 10 months by a unanimous vote.
> (4/7/14)

Year in and year out the community argued for what might be described as a "full year" of schooling for the youngsters. Occasionally minority votes would be cast for an eight or nine month year. Even in the worst of the depression, ten months was voted, but with a desclaimer "provided sufficient funds are available." Never was a longer year voted.

Records on the length of the day are more difficult to come by. In 1913 the teachers were to be present 20 minutes early to "heat and ventilate" the building. In 1916, standardization arrived:

> Ordered that school is not to be opened for children before 8:30 when teachers are to arrive. Teachers agreeing to arrange this with pupils. (1/24/16)

No mention was made regarding the closing hours. Presumably three or three-thirty was the hour.

The High School Curriculum

The two best sources of data on curriculum and teaching are the first High School Annual and several oral history interviews with former pupils, a teacher and a board member from the 1920's. A summary from reading and analyzing the High School Annual is presented in Figures 7 and 8.

Insert Figures 7 and 8 about here

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1. Helen Hamilton -- English
   Latin

2. Betty Harrison -- History
   English
   Commercial Law

3. Ann Peters ------ Science - Text
   Laboratory
   Biology
   Music

4. Susan Kelley ---- Math
   P. E.

5. Fred Grey ------- Athletics
   Typing

Figure 7: High School Curriculum Defined by Teacher Responsibilities

1. Class officers structure

2. Dramatics - "Gypsy Rover"
   Praire Rose

3. Glee Club

4. Athletics - Basketball - boys and girls
   Baseball - " "
   Tennis - " "

5. Participation in school elections

6. High School Annual
   High School Monthly News

7. Parties - Valentines
   Junior-Senior
   Cafeteria Supper
   Christmas Festival
   School Picnic

8. County Playday (Girls)

Figure 8: Extracurricular Activities as Informal Curriculum

The formal curriculum seems, by present standards and diversity, to be both limited and traditional. It did represent the basic discipline of history, science (mostly biology), math (algebra and geometry), and English. Latin was the only foreign language -- taught initially by Mrs. Briggs and later by Miss Hamilton. Mr. Grey developed a set of lessons and exercises in typing and loaned the pupils his own typewriter. One former pupil, who later became a journalist, remembers this with considerable positive feeling -- both in its curricular importance and in his feeling for the Superintendent:

> Yeah, when he found out that I was planning to go to college, why, he told me, he said 'You should learn to type.' And he said 'We're not giving a course in typing but I used to teach typing years ago, and if you'll get an old typewriter at home I'll type out .... ' But once a week or so I would go in his office and he would type out a sheet of finger exercises. Just like they do in typing class. Then I would go home and practice that. Then when I got a perfect sheet I'd bring it in to him and then he'd type out another sheet for me. And that's how I learned to type. And I'm eternally grateful to him. (TI 1980)

Presumably because of the source of data, the High School Annual and the monthly newspaper, the array of informal or extra curricular activities seems quite broad.

Physical Education Small amounts of money for bats and balls seem to be a regular part of rural schooling everywhere in America. Milford had some interesting differences and specialities as well:

> Necessary material for tennis court allowed. (4/30/17)

Aspects of that were elaborated on by an early High School student:

> Mr. Carr was a tennis player and he had a tennis court at his place ... he made a tennis court there .... I learned to play tennis there. He was quite a player and he taught the boys around, those that were interested in tennis. And we'd gather there every weekend on Sunday and we'd play all day long there. And we would take care of the court then. We'd roll it and then we'd mark it and so on, and patch the fence if it needed patching and so on.
> (TI 1980)

Mr. Carr became Clerk of the Board, without salary in April 15, 1918. In 1922 he was a member of the School Board.

Basketball seemed popular early in the life of the school:

> Mr. Elbrecht: Yeah, we made our own basketball court. We leveled off a spot, you know, and then they put up some backboards and we played outside because -- until such time as they were able to tear the partitions out of the old building. And then we used that as a basketball court.
>
> Mr. Simmons: It was all mud, you know, and whenever it rained and anybody would run through it or something they would leave tracks and of course it wasn't good for dribbling a basketball in it. But we didn't know the difference.
> (TI 1980)

Music Today, the Milford School District has a strong program in music. The Kensington School continues in that tradition while particular events often can't be interpreted causally, the specifics do conjure up images. In 1916:

> Acceptance piano offered by the Baldwin Piano Co. Miss Bird to be allowed use of same and school after school hours to give lessons in music.
>
> Stone[33] to haul same from piano store to the school house.
> (9/27/16)

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[33] A board member

Later, in the High School, a one person music department appeared in one of the students, who later played professionally:

> Mr. Elbrecht: We put on a play every year I believe
>
> Mr. Simmons: That's right, yeah, we had one every year ...
>
> Mr. Elbrecht: Then we had Gypsy Rose or Sweetheart, or -- no we didn't have the personnel for that.
>
> Nothing in the arts. Now we didn't even have a music teacher but Cliff had taken music lessons and he was an excellent piano player. We had one fellow who was good on the sax and that was our band essentially.
>
> Obs: Nobody played a bass or anything, just the sax and the piano?
>
> Mr. Elbrecht: No, I remember we needed a drummer. And one of the teachers came in and she said 'Do we have a drummer?' Johnny nudged me and said 'Tell her you're a drummer.' And I said 'I'm a drummer.' I couldn't, I never even handled a drum stick, so a couple of times at noon, Johnny took me up in the room and showed me how to keep the beat. And well that -- sometimes I didn't do too well and she (Mrs. Briggs) tapped me on the head, 'You're a drummer?'.... (TI 1980)

The interview continued with some mention of the several teachers who supervised at different times with different productions:

> Mr. Elbrecht: We all sort of pitched in
>
> Mr. Simmons: Yeah, it was, like I say, the whole thing was always a family affair. We had some of the lower grades that -- there weren't enough in our class to fill out roles and so we had to use part of the other classes...
>
> Mr. Elbrecht: Well, I mean, we were so short of help that, I guess you'd call it help, that I could never sing you know, and the farthest from my mind was singing and I had to sing a solo in that *Gypsy Rose*, I think, you know, it was kind of embarrassing for me, I'd say, but ....
>
> Mr. Simmons: Well, an interesting thing was in that one operetta, they do it in, I guess, in movies and what not there, the one girl was supposed to sing a solo and she

> couldn't sing and .... so my niece she sang ... so she stood right behind her in the wings there and she sang, you know, and the other one just moved her mouth and no one knew the difference.
>
> Mr. Elbrecht: I wish I'd had someone to do that for me, it would have been much more successful. (TI 1980)

Library Books The concept of the "Perception Core" or later the "Educational Material Center" seems rooted in the concept of "Library Books". As early as 1915 the Board was spending small amounts, $10 to $15, for library books. A not atypical item in 1917 indicated the importance of the teacher's judgment as well:

> Library books to be ordered as per list furnished by Miss Olin amounting to $10.20. (4/30/17)

Scattered references appeared regarding small amounts of money for library purchases. In 1922, it was noted:

> Moved & 2nd that we purchase 1 set of the World Book. Motion carried. (4/28/22)

A bookish pupil in High School, a decade later reported a multiple set of experiences:

> Mr. Elbrecht: I remember we had a small library. Just a little bookcase. And in view of the high school starting they -- I guess the Board, probably Mr. Carr was as responsible as anybody because he was quite a reader and a well educated man -- they brought in a selection of books, some of the classics like some of Dickens and Kenilworth and Silas Marner and so on and then I believe we had a ....
>
> Mr. Simmons: We had good library dictionaries ....
>
> Mr. Elbrecht: And we had a set of encyclopedias ....

> Observer: In the high school room?
>
> Mr. Elbrecht: Yeah, and then each year then of course, they added more new books to that. But I remember that I always like to read. I read almost everything they had in that limited library. But it was good material what they had. (TI 1980)

Community Models and Resources In one of our interviews we were struck with the community resources open to a personable, bright, bookish, and multi-talented youngster. His account from the interviews reads this way:

> Obs: I guess I was struck by your comments both about Craig and about Carr, in that fact that their influences came initially through the Boy Scouts and that kind of thing and I guess I'm curious, were there other figures like that in your life and then your neighbor with this fine library and so, that seemed to make a difference in your education?
>
> Mr. Elbrecht: Yeah, I would say that Mr. Carr made a tremendous difference in the education of not only some of us that went to the high school but to the young men in general in the community. It seems to me that anyone that he came in contact with he left his mark and not one -- we were talking about it some time ago, a few of us got together, not one of the young men that he had been in contact with ever got into any trouble and they all seemed to prosper. He was quite an individual, now, he also was interested in sports and he sort of sponsored the baseball teams out here and of course he got a bunch of us interested in tennis, he was an avid ice skater and in the winter time he'd teach us how to skate and he was a good figure skater and he taught us figure skating and things like that and reading -- he was a Sunday School teacher also and he wouldn't just -- I don't think we ever cracked the Bible in his class but we talked about literature and philosophy and things of that nature and he really broadened us, I mean, you know, in fact knowing him and being with him was a bit of liberal education in itself and something that I value very highly, I mean, I feel that I almost got as much education in contact with him as I did going to high school.
>
> Obs: Yeah, well, that was sort of the implication I was drawing and that's why I was curious about that. Did he have kids of his own or?

> Mr. Elbrecht: No, he had no children of his own and just to show you how well thought of he was in the -- I mean, if you want to continue in that vein -- how well thought of he was in the community, some years after I had gotten out of college, some of us got together and we said well look, Mr. Carr is getting up in years, we really ought to show in some way our appreciation for what he has done and we gave a dinner up at the Methodist Church where he was active and I guess there must have been 50 or 60 boys that he had contacted through the years either through athletics or through the tennis or through the school, through Sunday School, and we got together and gave a very nice dinner. I happened to be toast master of the thing and each boy got up and had a little something to say about how Mr. Carr had affected his life or some experience he had you know, and it was just a great thing, a sort of a spontaneous thing, you know. So I would say, he had quite an effect on the lives of many of the young people in the area. (TI 1980)

Later in the interview, he related the story of a neighbor:

> Mr. Elbrecht: I thought we were -- I thought I was extremely fortunate to know somebody like that and then I was again fortunate to have this access to this tremendously wonderful library across the street from my place.
>
> Obs: Talk a little or let me make sure we're going here -- tell me a little bit about your neighbor with the library and stuff ....
>
> Mr. Elbrecht: They moved out and built shortly after we did. I was -- we moved out in 1921 and I guess they moved out about 1923 or 24, in those years, anyway, I know that when I was in grade school, probably the 8th grade or so, then I knew them and I started getting books from their library.
>
> Obs: Who were the people by name?
>
> Mr. Elbrecht: Philip S. Newman was his name -- and their two daughters, they graduated from Milford later but they were just little kids, one was almost a baby in arms when I was over there and as I say, this was a tremendous library, they had practically all of the classics, the French and Russian writers and the English like Thomas Hardy and Dickens and Thackery and boy, I just waded through a lot of that. I had a tremendous

knowledge of literature by the time I got to college, I mean, which helped me considerably but I always did like to read and I'm going back and still reading -- yeah, I'm going back and reading some more Dickens and Hardy and Thackery and the whole thing.

Obs: What kind of work did Newman do?

Mr. Elbrecht: Newman was a railroad engineer but he didn't assemble the library, the library was assembled -- now, his parents apparently and what they did I don't know, but they apparently were what we would call fairly wealthy, I mean, they would have to be to assemble the library like that and what -- I think, as far as I know that his father might have been a rather high official in the post office from what I know but nevertheless, they inherited this library from his folks and the fact of the matter is then they stored the library up in an attic of the folks house and here awhile back, why one of the daughters called me and said, Carl, we're getting rid of all the books and that if you want to come up and by that time the library was pretty well scattered but I got a few that -- almost a set of Dickens and Cooper and Carlyle -- I mean, they even had writers like Carlyle and the Fall of the Roman Empire by Gibbon you know, and all of that stuff and I managed to salvage a few of those and I brought them home to add them to my library.

Obs: Sounds like he didn't read them himself as much as say Carr would have read his own, his material.

Mr. Elbrecht: Oh no, no, Newman himself wasn't a reader and his wife -- they didn't read too much either -- I mean, I made use of the library more than they did, I mean, it was great, I'd take two or three books home and read them and then take them back and get a couple more so I was just a voracious reader when I was a kid and I still am.

Obs: Did you learn to read before you went to school or did you learn at school?

Mr. Elbrecht: No, no, I -- in fact, it was a funny thing -- when I was a youngster I talked German until I went to school so that actually threw me back about a grade until I learned English -- I don't know, my folks talked German and I mean, that's the way things went in those days, you understand.

Obs: Yeah, I understand that ....

Mr. Elbrecht: And then when I got to college then I took a year of German up there because I had no trouble with the pronunciation at all but ....

Obs: Did German come pretty quickly?

Mr. Elbrecht: It came fairly easily then, yeah ....

Obs: Part of the, I guess, the obvious intention of some of the questions is that that I'm curious about how a bright, curious kid somehow acquired the range of experiences, academically, intellectually and you know, you've got a one teacher school and the ninth grade sort of thing and yet when you talk a little bit you know, you got a lending library across the street from you in a sense and then you've got a guy who sounds like, in Carr, just a paragon of all kinds of help and support who presumably was able to spot kids with multiple kinds of talents and support them and encourage them and have them around his house and kind of an incredible alternative routes I guess is what I'm saying to today what usually the schools do and provide and that sense -- just amazed at that kind of experience. Other people of that sort that float in and out of your life?

Mr. Elbrecht: I'm trying to think and I can't think of any one of that particular caliber of Mr. Carr, I mean, of course, as you go through life you have a lot of different types of experiences in one thing or another and of course you learn a lot from other people who are maybe not as you say, book learning, but you learn a lot of practical things but I guess, from an intellectual standpoint, why, probably he's about the only one that I can really spot outside of teachers. Now there again, I say, in these one room schools, now we had an excellent, dedicated teacher in Mrs. Young of the Union School and of course there again, your classes were small and the teacher took individual pains with the students and so you came out of the 8th grade pretty well educated, I mean, for that year. There again, we have had a very small library, there again, I read everything in it, just a little case in the back of the room about so high and about that wide and through the years why, I managed to read everything there, you know. We did have slates on the walls, we didn't have to take a piece of charcoal like Lincoln, you know, and write on the slate or something like that.
(TI 1980)

Family factors mixed in for him, in a way different from some of the youngsters with whom he grew up:

> Obs: Were your parents supportive of your literary kind of interests along the way?
>
> Mr. Elbrecht: Oh yes, I was going to say, most of the parents I suppose in those days were not too supportive of any education beyond the 8th grade and especially in a community like we were in, there wasn't any high school near by for the children to go to but when I indicated to my parents that I would like to go on why, they were very supportive and they liked the idea very much. In fact, they supported me all the way through. Now I had an aunt, my Father's Mother's Sister, and I know we visited them one day when I was in high school and she said, 'What does he need with more education.' You know, that was the attitude in those days. I mean, you had an 8th grade, you could read, write, compute and that was it. Why did you need more education, that was the attitude and it was -- I know most of the -- a lot of the farmers out in the west end, they were rather wealthy -- I mean, they had made a lot of money during World War I, the price of wheat was way up you know, and they had -- a lot of them bought nice new cars and tractors and all that, they were quite prosperous in that area but they couldn't see any need for educating their youngsters beyond grade school so that's why there were so few of us that came to Clear Valley at that time.
>
> Obs: Your Father was a farmer also?
>
> Mr. Elbrecht: Yeah, he was farming. He did some farming and building. He built a number of houses, he was a builder in addition to farming. And, as I say, both parents were very supportive of me getting more of an education if I wanted it. (TI 1980)

The importance of that community member continues through multiple activities:

> Obs: But in that sense and with parents who had minimal education -- did your Father go beyond the 8th grade for instance?
>
> Mr. Elbrecht: No, Mother didn't either.
>
> Obs: But by the time you make those cuts of who goes on and then that initial 50% dropout almost, the boys and girls who are left, you know, their bright, they're talented, they're studious, they got a lot of talent and at that level, it sounds as though in the school, you could

hold your own with any of those people whether they were a Holmes family or a Chester family or whatever -- that's the image I'm getting.

Mr. Elbrecht: Yes, right, I would say that that was true. That we reached a plateau there that we could hold our own with, you know, a ....

Obs: And with guys like Carr inviting you around to play tennis ....

Mr. Elbrecht: Right, yeah, that was a stimulating experience. I mean, he broadened our minds that there were a lot of other things in the world, you know, than just this little community and he recommended books that we read, you know, and things like that. Just to give you a for instance, I remember when the Scout troup met up in the old church yard one Halloween night, with tombstones all around, and he had a flashlight and he read the book of "The Hounds of the Baskerville" which was quite an experience, you know, and he read that to us out there in the church yard. I mean, that was the type of thing that he would do and then in Sunday School class, maybe we would discuss a book like Beau Geste or something like that or we'd discuss philosophy or government. I mean, there were a whole gamut of civilizations, I mean, was sort of -- he would draw us out -- what did we think or so on and so forth. It was so much more than just a cut and dry Sunday School class, you know. I think he figured if we wanted religion we could get that in the church and he was intent on our minds. That's what he was intent on and I know I have some very good friends from the little select group that I was with and we are all most appreciative -- what he did for us.

Obs: Well, the lessons were falling obviously on fertile soil ....

Mr. Elbrecht: Right -- So yes, I see what you're driving at -- you're attempting to see what other forces were active in forming us even though we had this limited educational facilities so to speak. Of course, for those days, it was adequate really.

Obs: And as you say, most of the people, if you could read and write and compute and do the farm work or the shop work or whatever ....

Mr. Elbrecht: Right, that was all that was necessary.
(TI 1980)

Summary In conclusion, at the time of the first commencement in June 1931, the pride of the district in its high school is well indicated in a story told by a Board member in the brief history of the school:

> When the annual inspection of the school was made by the State Department of Education it was given full credit as a first class four-year High School. Talking with the Superintendent and several members of the Board, one of the Board members remarked, "You think then, Mr. Inspector, that we have a pretty good school." "No," replied the Inspector, "I wouldn't say just that. I would leave that 'pretty' out, you have a good school, no qualifications at all." (H.S. Annual, 1931 p.9)

From an able student's point of view the criterion was a simple one, access to the next step in the educational hierarchy and later into a career:

> Actually, we had the basics that we could get into college if we wanted to go. As I recall at that -- at that time, most colleges required two years of a foreign language and two years of math and two years of science. Well, we had all of that plus we had four years of English, we had two or three years of history and I believe we had a course in civics, that's probably in our junior year .... and then in our senior year then we had our biology and English and commercial law and commercial arithmetic I believe, and one other course, probably in social studies of some kind. We had a fairly good curriculum I would say for that type of school, you know, from coming from scratch. (TI 1980)

One further concluding thought comes to mind. The several lines of data which draw the picture of the early high school might be an accent of small size rather than rural America 50 years ago. The Barker and Gump Big School, Small School (1964) volume suggests that small schools retain many of the social, non academic, and academic positions and roles of the large high school, but have many fewer individuals competing for those positions. Consequently, the kind of experience --musician, athlete, scholar tends to be much richer for the average student. At issue, fundamentally, is the kind of citizen adult the community desires to see facilitated, a theme running through much of our analysis.

In brief the high school was designed to fit state regulations, it was approved -- lauded -- by a state inspector, and it permitted at least one student to meet the entrance requirements to the State University. Beyond that considerable latitude seemed possible. Further, for some, family or community gave a potent if not unique kind of support.

4. THE EARLY McBRIDE ERA: THE STORY CONTINUES

4.1 Introduction

In relation to our overview of the broad historical sweep in the chronicle of the Milford School District, the McBride era splits into three major periods: 1) a long period of stability and gradual growth that is a continuation of Milford as a six director township school system; 2) a period of transition and 3) a long period of rapid post World War II population growth, really a population explosion when the district was building "a school every year," until there were a dozen. We speak of long periods for the McBride era lasted almost 27 years. The stable period began in January 1935 and lasted until 1949. In 1949, the Marquette School District merged with Milford and in 1952, the first post World War II school, the Grant was built. From 1952 until 1962, the District grew rapidly, McBride aged, and the Board wanted him to step down. Amidst considerable controversy Steven Spanman came in 1962. But that part of the story comes twenty-seven years later.

4.2 Continuing the Long Stable Era (1935-1949)

The continuity in district affairs, appears in the rapid socialization of the new superintendent. Within two months of his appointment he "reads the current bills for the month of February". His work was commented upon:

> Mr. McBride then gave a very satisfactory report on conditions, in relation to improvements and progress for the past month. (3/6/35)

and it was moved, seconded and carried:

> .... that the Board accept estimated budget plans for 1935-36 as submitted by Mr. McBride. (3/6/35)

The educational program of the District continued to grow gradually, like Topsy, this time in adult education:

> At this time a Mr. Smith, representing the advanced adult education program of Suburban County, was invited to consult with the Board on situation prevalent at the Attucks night school. Mr. Everhart moved, seconded by Mrs. Quayles that Mr. McBride make inquiries with the proper authorities at Capitol City as to what can be done about compensation for teachers teaching at the Attucks night school. The motion carried. (2/6/35)

The interplay of state and local activities continued:

> Mr. McBride explained the merits of House Bill 21 now before the General Assembly at Capitol City. (3/6/35)

The Board went on record in support of the bill.

Adult education appeared to be more general for the Board moved, seconded and passed the recommendation in April of 1935:

> Under recommendations by Mr. McBride .... that we leave the question of letting the Adult Education group have a room at either Milford Village or Clear Valley School in the hands of Mr. McBride to act on as he saw fit. (4/3/35)

Amidst some controversy three of the high school teachers submitted their resignations for the following year. With a split vote the Board accepted them. Later a group of patrons sought a reconsideration. The Board saw it as "closed business."

With the consultation of an official from the State Department of Education the Board made plans to solicit Federal funds for a 2-4 room addition to the Milford Village School and a gymnasium building at Clear Valley.[34] (6/17/35) Letters went to President Roosevelt and three congressional representatives. On October 2, 1935, the Board met at its regular time:

> The first order of business for the evening was the letter from Mr. T. N. Poser, acting State Director for the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, notifying the Board of Education of Milford that the application for a government loan of $28,000 and a grant of $24,763 had been approved by the government, and that immediate advice of the approval and acceptance be forwarded to Mr. Poser. On the advice of Mr. Thompson, Mr. Everhart moved, seconded by Mr. Eason that the following resolution be forwarded:
>
> > Be it resolved that the Secretary of the Board of Education immediately notify the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works that the *Board of Education of Milford, Suburban County, Midwest State hereby accept the loan and grant referred to, based upon the PWA rules and regulations imposed by the President of the United States*, and be it further resolved that a work schedule be also immediately forwarded as required. (Our italics)
>
> The motion carried. (10/2/35)

Interestingly the federal-local relationship also included transportation:

> A committee of patrons of our non resident pupils met with the Board to discuss plans and means whereby these children may secure transportation with some government aid. (9/4/35)

Most of the Board's time in 35-36 involved the multitude of details in financing, contracting and building the addition.

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[34] The grant proposal went to the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works.

The interrelation among present buildings, their size and structure, additional new building space, the housing of children, the structure of the educational program, and the concerns of parents appear dramatically in that '35-'36 year. The election of new Board members in April, was strongly contested although we have no data on the issues. The votes by order of filing were 332, 342, 291, 216. One incumbent won with 342 votes and one lost, with 216 votes. Within a week, at a special meeting, Mr. McBride, the Superintendent, received a new three year contract. In the third special meeting in April, the report of the Superintendent as summarized in the Board minutes included:

> The discussion and explanation to parents about the moving of elementary school children to the school building on Pearl Drive. It was agreed that Mr. McBride take care of the date for meeting. (4/29/35)

In June:

> Mr. McBride spoke on the probability of moving all elementary grades to Milford Village School. A group of patrons from Meramac Road[35] met with the Board at this time, expressing their views. (6/3/36)

In July, formal actions occurred:

> Under unfinished business, Mr. Everhart moved, seconded by Mr. Yates, that all elementary grades from first to sixth be moved to the Milford Village School. The motion carred. (7/1/36)

This consolidation of all elementary pupils into one building was a several month process. While discussions went on within the Board and in public meetings between the parents and the Board, apparently no organized opposition arose. The arguments pro and con did not appear in any of the Board records.

[35] The Clear Valley School was on Donaldson's Road near Meramac Road.

That Summer the Board and the Superintendent for the first time seemed to run headlong into the mix of federal money for equipment (PWA), the complications of varied equipment characteristics and varied prices on the bids, and the need for care regarding rules and regulations, what today might be called red tape:

> The Board of Education of the School District of Milford met for a special meeting July 17, 1936, at Clear Valley School, for the purpose of reconsideration of some of the awards made on equipment for the PWA Project No. Mo. 1056-R at their July 1st meeting, 1936 ....
>
> The following resolution was adopted by the Board ....
>
> WHEREAS, there appears to be some unsatisfactory conditions in regard to the recent award at the July 1st meeting, and WHEREAS there has been objection on the part of some bidders in that some awards were made to high bidders instead of the low. Be it therefore resolved that due to these existing conditions that the Board of Education reconsidered or rejected bids that were not satisfactory and reconsidered Items 2 and 3, under Section I, Item 1 under Section II, and Item 7 under Section II. (7/17/36)

In a series of ten more specific motions the Board reaffirmed its earlier action with explicit reasons that low bids did not "meet specifications." For example:

> The Board specified the Medallion wire basket No. 397 as equal.. The Board is ready to show why the Metal Equipment Company basket is not equal to the Medallion basket.
>
> First: The basket is not as heavy and durable
> Second: The basket contains four wires around which makes it weaker
> Third: Sharp points on corners of Metal basket make it dangerous to hands
>
> These will be brought along for your examination.
> (7/17/36)

The purchase of Medallion steel lockers involved ten reasons, mostly related to durability and safety. The Boards minutes, before adjournment closed with:

> I certify that the above is true, conscientious consideration and action of the Board of Education of Milford School District, July 17th, 1936, on school equipment awards, P.W.A. Project Number 1056-R, and action was taken subject to approval of PWA.
>
> F. N. McBride
> Supt. of Schools
> (7/17/36)

It looked as though the Superintendent had been busy, done his homework, was assuming a larger and larger role as business manager and executive officer of the District, and was learning to cope with the FEDS. In the middle of this process, and without our understanding the causes or reasons an item appeared in the minutes:

> It was agreed by the Board that Mr. McBride take a leave of absence for a few days rest when his judgement saw fit to do so. (7/1/36)

He seemed to be working hard, doing what the Board wanted, earned some days off and was trusted to use his own discretion in taking that time.

When a nation is in a depression, when school needs seem never ending, when District resources are scarce, as always seemed the case in Milford, and when a President of the Nation is calling for "A New Deal", and when one has successfully won support for a building and equipment, it probably shouldn't be a surprise to find an item in the minutes such as the following:

> Mr. McBride then gave the Superintendent's Report. A resolution was proposed, asking the government for an additional grant on the extra money spent on our building project. Mr. Yates moved, seconded by Mr. Ellis,

> that this resolution be adopted. The motion carried. Some discussion on heating problem. It might be possible to get a WPA project on this with Mr. Galvern supervising. If done by WPA work, we could get work done for about 10% or 20% of what it would cost otherwise. Mr. McBride is to go ahead and look into this WPA project.[36] (11/4/36)

One doesn't have to be a reinforcement theorist to see and understand the rapid learning of grant application shills nor a cognitive theorist to see and understand the changes in perspectives occurring in the minds and behavior of the Board members. Whether these shifts are a long jump or a short step to the habits, perspectives and organizational structures of '79-'80 can be debated.

In a series of three items, presumably related, the Board acted on 1) the resignation from the Board of Mrs. Quales who had been secretary; 2) the hiring of a Mr. W. Quayles as janitor and 3) the hiring of Miss Needles as secretary to the Board.

> The question of Secretary of the Board was discussed, and the discussion resulted in the following action of the Board. It was moved by Mr. Yates and seconded by Mr. Ellis that Miss Needles be Secretary of the Board until further arrangements are made by the Board of Education, at a $5.00 additional salary per month. The motion carried. (9/22/36)

Now, for the first time, the Superintendent's secretary was also the paid secretary of the Board. "Further arrangements" weren't made until March, 1944, almost a decade later.

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[36] On November 3, 1937, discussion occurred regarding renting a concrete mixer "for the WPA project on the grounds." Some success apparently occurred.

In October, the Board voted ".... to stand the expenses of Mr. McBride...." to both the state and national teachers meetings. In December the school picnic increased in scope and status, the Board signed a contract with Mark Twain Amusements, a Big City amusement park to hold the School Picnic May 6th.

In June, '37 the Board minutes indicated for the first time that Milford considered the audio visual approaches to teaching:

> .... to have Mr. McBride investigate the purchase of a Visual Education machine, and that we join the Visual Education Program. (6/2/37)

These discussions continued on into the Autumn, for a new machine which played both sound and silent films was soon to be on the market. The Board decided to wait for that.[37] Anticipating a later discussion we would mention that 25 years later, Spanman would arrive with a persuasive style, masterfully utilizing an overhead projector with charts, graphs, and alliterative topic words, and make Kensington, in plan at least,

> .... an elementary school which would give them the most modern audio-visual program in the nation.
> (Gillespie 1967, p.15)

During these years, business and organizational items flood the minutes: insurance, boilers and stokers, and radiators, bids on major and minor maintenance, hiring and firing of custodians, cafeteria profits, wages for cooks, ($1.25/day), bids for coal, salaries for new staff and amounts of increase for old. Even the children and parents became a part of this:

[37] On November 3, 1937 a Bell and Howell "picture projector" was purchased.

> There are still some children who have entered Milford Village School, in the 1st grade, and who have not presented birth certificates. Mr. McBride is to write another letter to these parents, stating that these birth certificates must be turned in to Mr. Ulrich by Monday, October 18, or the child will be sent home, until a birth certificate is received. (11/6/37)

During these years the purchase of bits and pieces of equipment suggest that curricular and extra curricular activities were part of the discussion in Board meetings. Concerns were expressed about sewing machines, Sousaphones in music, storage lockers for Boy Scout equipment and so forth. And then, dropped into the minutes in the section entitled "Monthly Report" or "Report of the Superintendent", is an occasional major curriculum item:

> There was some discussion on having a kindergarten at Milford Village Elementary School for the last three months of this school year. Mr. McBride is to investigate the number of children who would attend the kindergarten, and if there are sufficient number, he is to go ahead with plans. Motion made .... seconded .... and carried. (2/2/38)

A month later, a $4.00/month tuition rate for non-resident kindergarten pupils was established.

The Board minutes suggest the continuing influence of the county superintendent and the possible collegial aspects among superintendents:

> Mr. McBride then gave his monthly report. There was some discussion on the question of a survey being made, which was brought up at the County Superintendent's meeting. As we do not know enough about this, the Board decided not to pass on same. (3/2/38)

The hypothesis we are reaching toward is the gradual development of relationships between the relatively isolated superintendents of small county districts which culminated in the formation of the League of Superintendents of Suburban County. Intertwined in this is the gradual decline in importance of the County Board of Education and the County Superintendent of Schools.

On Wednesday, March 9, 1938, a special meeting of the Board was called. Amidst minutes of lumber buying, insurance company contacts, restarting heating and electrical systems, and discussions of classes which are usable, the reader makes the inference that the West end of the old High School building has burned down. The rebuilding was complicated by differences with the insurance company $17,000 vs. $9,000, the possibilities of WPA money, and the role of union labor. A week later the insurance differences were adjusted and compromised to $13,000. Outside resource possibilities were reported as:

> A visit was made to the State WPA office in Capitol City by Mr. McBride and some of the Board members yesterday, and were informed that there is not much chance of a WPA project with skilled labor. It was decided by the Board to forget the WPA. (3/16/38)

The final insurance payment was $12,275. One of the Board members who is in the construction business offered to manage the rebuilding for 10% of the contract. This necessitated his resignation from the Board. After that he received the contract.

Besides rebuilding parts of the High School, additions to the elementary school, for a kindergarten, and remodeling of Attucks were on the agenda. Mr. McBride made another visit to Capitol City and was told that bills for school aid were in Congress in Washington, D.C. and that district voting dates should not be set until the bill passed in Congress. The Board then resolved:

> That the School District undertake a building project looking to an addition to the building, and that we seek whatever Federal aid is available, and authorize the President of the Board and the Superintendent of Schools to fill in the preliminary questionnaire in order to get the project underway, and to execute the necessary applications. The motion carried. (5/16/38)

The Board also moved for a special election for bonds for the school. The vote was 18 to 1 in favor (329 to 40). The Board President, Mr. Brocks, resigned in order to accept the contract as one of the architects for the new building. We have not made an exhaustive study of the economic importance of school business for a local community, nor the evolution of sealed competitive bids as a technique for controlling favoritism in awarding contracts. The main bids were so let. This kind of local "economic politicing", if we can use such a label, is openly reported in the minutes. Presumably it's "just good business." A strong case can be made for a local citizen representing and advocating for the district as architect. A touch of irony appears in another item labeled "political meetings" which follows right after the contracting discussion of the school building items which were awarded to the two former Board members:

> In regard to political meeting, it is the unanimous opinion of the Board that the auditorium at Clear Valley School, the Milford assembly hall, and the Attucks School be made available for a reasonable number of times to the political parties for political meetings during the Fall, provided they make arrangements with the Superintendent a reasonable length of time before the holding of the meetings. (8/3/38)

School systems in rural areas and small towns in pre World War II America were fascinating community institutions.

The application for Federal aid was written and rewritten several times as ideas changed, possible amounts of the contract changed, and as union minimum wage rates for the metropolitan area were incorporated. Additional land was bought, competitive bids received for the construction and contracts let during Summer and Autumn of 1938. Two of the final touches were the Board's resolutions that:

> .... the architect be authorized to design and secure an appropriate bronze tablet to commemorate the assistance furnished by the United States Government. (3/8/39)

And the Board's resolution:

> A motion was made .... to sell the shed that has been used by the WPA to the WPA, for $30.00. The motion carried. (5/22/39)

1939-40, at least in its beginning, seemed noteworthy only in someone's afterthought, the Board minutes for that year were bound with those running from July 1939-June 1948. The gathering war storm in Europe obviously didn't enter into the one page/meeting sets of minutes. Nor was the ebbing of the 1930's recession much in evidence. Rather, on July 5, 1939 the agenda consisted of the roll call, (one absence), the secretary and treasurer's reports (approved and balance of $9,368.66), the cafeteria report was read and current bills paid, the Superintendent's monthly report (a thank you to Dr. Evans[38] and the hiring of Miss Engle as home economics teacher (at a salary of $1,275.70 for ten months and an extra $127.30 for the eleventh month), the coal bid was accepted, eight book shelves for the library were purchased from a local school

[38] On 4/3/40 he became medical director of the district at a salary of $300/year.

and business supply company, and repairs were authorized for the Milford Elementary School ".... two doors replaced, cement step in front of the building repaired, new downspout on the North side of the building, and tuckpointing." The meeting was over in an hour and ten minutes, at 9:10 P.M. On September 6th, 1939 the enrollment was:

45	Attucks
255	Milford Village School
247	High School

which represented an increase of 45 or 50 pupils. The Board also did not support Patricia Talcot's petition for another half year of high school tuition and transportation which she needed because she had failed to graduate in the usual four years' time. Finally the secretary seems to have been married for she was now Mrs. Tackie instead of Miss Needles.

The legal context of public education appeared and reappeared in Milford in quite explicit ways. Patricia Talbot's case was reconsidered two weeks later, and a new and partially related case appeared:

> The Board reconsidered its action of a previous meeting in the matter of paying the tuition and transportation for one-half year for Patricia Talbot, a colored girl. After listening to a report of investigation as conducted by the Superintendent, and after consideration of the law, the Board came to the conclusion that it was unauthorized to pay anv further tuition or transportation for Patricia Talbot. (9/18/39)
>
> A motion was made by Mr. Coser, seconded by Mr. Corder that the case of Julia Hensley has been thoroughly considered by the Board of Education from every angle, including the legal limitations of a school district to incur expenses for persons in grade school, and has concurred that it is without authority to do anything more than offer her the facilities of the schools maintained within the district. The motion carried. (9/18/39)

The day to day business of running a small school district continued with items related to a neighboring one room school district and the local codes of morality:

> A motion was made by Mr. Coser, seconded by Mr. Yankel, that we permit the Whitcom's PTA to hold a program this year only; in our gymnasium, and that they be advised that the Board has established a policy against the use of the school building by school districts and other organizations outside the territorial limits of this school district, and that holding public dances in public school buildings is absolutely forbidden and against the policy of the Board. The motion carried. (10/4/39)

Once again, the gradual extension in scope of school services appears in the minutes when the changes demand financial resource:

> A motion was made by Mr. Coser, seconded by Mr. Yankel, to pay Mr. Smith $100.00 for trips made to different colleges with students last Spring. The motion carried. (12/6/39)

A month later, three items of note appeared. The Superintendent reported on personal and real estate taxes "stricken off" school districts 1935-1939. Second a committee was appointed "to survey the district for future school building sites." The third suggests the vagaries of policy with neighboring districts:

> It was decided to entertain the members of the rural school boards sending students to our high school, and their wives, at a dinner on Saturday night, February 24, at 6:00 P.M. (1/3/40)

A month before, and a month later, the Board reiterated its policy of non use of buildings by outside schools and organizations. The final item dealt with "Sex Education":

> Miss Gaynor, Mrs. Kelly, and Mr. Smith gave quite a discussion on sex education as it is carried on in our school, and on the health program in general. (1/3/40)

This seems noteworthy in several regards. The controversy over sex education continues through the country, now some forty years later. Second, the Board has initiated formal curriculum reports by staff to the Board. Eventually this becomes institutionalized as on a rotating once a month emphasis. The following month, the minutes included a similar item:

> Mr. Smith, Miss Palm and Louis Yankel gave quite a discussion of the guidance programs as carried on in our schools. (3/6/40)

A month later bills for "band uniforms" were paid. Earlier a bassoon had been purchased. Music education continued in full splendor.

The Board extended its program to include a "playground this Summer at both schools" and appointed Mr. Reynolds at a salary of $100/month "to take care of the playground." At the next meeting the school nurse, Mrs, Kelly, was rehired at $ /year.

Home economics was handled by a contract with the State Department of Education. (8/7/40) Major outlays for shop equipment -- "double shop benches", tools, metal stolls, were made. And the Superintendent was requested to investigate the number of students who would want to take chemistry, the cost of equipment, etc., and report at the next meeting (8/27/40). And at that next meeting the Board voted "that we put in a chemistry course in the high school this year." (9/4/40)

World and national events did come directly to Milford in September of 1940. Perhaps, the form should have been anticipated by any observer and theorist:

> It was the sense of the meeting that it will be necessary to adopt proper regulations concerning leaves of absence for teachers now in the military service or those hereafter called, and provide for their re-employment upon termination of their military service. (9/4/40)

Later a leave of absence policy was adopted. During the 41-42 year references to "defense children" and possible Federal aid,[39] the selling of "defense stamps" and the departure of the secondary principal and a few teachers appeared.

For over a decade, Since Mrs. Tholozan's leaving the Board, the membership had been all male. On November 4, 1942, Mrs. Bester was voted in by the Board to fill a vacancy caused by resignation. That Spring she was re-elected in an uncontested race. A month later she resigned because she moved out of the district. She was replace by Susan Jones.

As we have indicated at several points in our discussion the source of several of our "themes" in this history of the district are the concerns, problems, and issues in contention and manifest in the Kensington School and Milford District today. The involvement with the Federal government is one of those major themes. Today it's a concern for PL 94-142 and the Office of

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[39] In 1941, the Congress passed the Lanham Act which gave aid to communities facing hardships due to expanding war factories and military bases.

Civil Rights. In anticipation are concerns about court ordered desegregation, busing, and hiring policies. In 1941, the flavor was very different:

> Mr. McBride gave an explanation in regard to the defense aid that is being given by the Federal Government. Quite a bit of discussion on this. A motion was made .. .. that we authorize Mr. Bestor to prepare application to the Public Works Agency covering certain improvements in the existing school facilities, with the understanding that if we go ahead with the work, we employ Mr. Bestor as architect. The motion carried. (7/21/41)

The activity went forward in the next few months, and at what now seems like an incredibly quick turn around time at a special meeting on Friday, October 3, 1941, the minutes record the "success" of Mr. McBride and Mr. Bestor.:

> Mr. Bestor and Mr. McBride attended a meeting in the PWA office, and they are ready to offer us a $70,000 grant for the building of a new elementary school. After quite a bit of discussion on this, a motion was made ...., that we write a letter to the Midwest City office that we are ready to accept their offer in the amount of $70,000, but that it will be necessary that we revise our building set up. The motion carried. If advisable Mr. McBride and Mr. Bestor are to make the trip to the Midwest City office for a conference there. (10/3/41)

Three years later (6/26/44), Mr. McBride read a telegram to the Board indicating they had received $12,500.00 from the Federal Works Agency for construction costs of a two room addition to the Milford Elementary School. Twenty thousand dollars of bonded indebtedness was approved 48 to 2 in the special election of July 13, 1944.

In August of 1943, a note was made on a phenomenon that presumably was occurring all over the country:

> Mr. McBride gave a report on the Suburban County Planning Commission's post war program. Quite a bit of discussion on post war planning for our school district. (8/4/43)

No record appeared at this time. One of the generalizations we would make is simple but potent. Common sense units of time often are broken into chunks around memorable events, such as a war and "post war planning." Implicit also is a dimension of special times i.e. the war years and more normal times. Further, implications seem to exist for these as occasions in which initiatives might be taken.

The Board continued to receive requests for releases from contracts. Most seemed to be handled quickly and easily as teachers had husbands who were moved by their companies or were moving for better employment, were marrying, or were having children. Seldom were other reasons stated. The Board eventually requested each teacher to make a personal appearance as part of the procedures. One instance was noted of a teacher moving to a university position:

> A motion was made .... that we accept the resignation of Katherine Masters, to accept a position at the University of Minnesota. (1/5/44)

After 9 years Mrs. Tackie left her post as school Board secretary. She was replaced by Julia Coenstein.

4.3 Some New and Some Continuing Themes

In the general narrative, a number of themes have appeared and reappeared. In the mid 1940's these seem to explode in different directions and complicate the flow of a simple, single plot narrative. Consequently we have clustered the story into several strands. The plot thickens, so to speak.

The American Dilemma Continues

By the mid 1940's, the Black enrollment had dropped steadily. One teacher, Clara Reynolds, remained for many years. She was the lowest paid member of the teaching staff through these years. Further, one of the largest industrial plants in the district sought to move the Attucks School for the company's expansion. The Board, the Superintendent and the Company planned and negotiated for several years. Plans were in motion for Federal aid in the construction of a new school (as well as for the Milford High School). In the meantime maintenance problems were acute enough to bring a citizens committee to the Board:

> A committee representing the Patrons Association of the Attucks School .... brought before the Board requests for needed repairs and equipment -- insufficient heat in the South room, broken windows, water in the basement, and broken furnace pipe; a clock and additional playground equipment. The committee was assured that these requests would be taken care of as expediently as possible.
> (10/16/45)

The next mention of the Attucks School appeared in the March '46 minutes and dealt with discussions between the Board members and the Company that wanted to move the school. The negotiations foundered on who would pay for the new school, and in June the Board noted:

> After due consideration it was decided to have the Attucks School building repaired sufficiently to put it in usable condition before the September school term.

And

> The Quaker Manufacturing Company is to be notified that at present the Board is financially unable to bear the expense of erecting a new building. (7/17/46)

Some problems don't fade away. In the Spring of 1949, with two new Board members, Lewis and Norton, a variety of items were raised including one relevant to the Attucks School.

> It was determined to do some additional studying before deciding just what has to be done about the Negro building situation including that of future usage and possibility of paying tuition in Big City. (4/7/49)

The situation complicated itself one turn further in that the Quaker Manufacturing Company activities involved dynamiting in one section of its building program.

> A discussion was held about the Attucks School and about the Quaker Manufacturing Company blasting during school hours. It was suggested that we check to find out about the blasting and register a complaint, getting legal advice on it first and then approaching them through an attorney. Mr. McBride was instructed to inquire from the Negro Improvement association about blasting, etc. (5/10/49)

In the Superintendent's report of May 10th, 1949, now mimeographed and bound with the Board minutes, Item #21 contained a one line statement:

> Negro children -- the city will not accept them. (5/10/49)

School Lunches: The Federal Program

During the Autumn of 1944, Federally funded school lunches came to Milford for consideration. It seems to presage a number of later school, community, government relations. As we have indicated the cafeteria -- its personnel, supplies, payment of bills, yearly profit and loss has been a regular part of Board reports since the school first provided the service to youngsters of Milford in the 1920's. In 1944, the directions took a new turn:

> A group representing the Community Home Makers Club appeared before the Board of Education to present the food plan as sponsored by the War Food Administration. Mrs. Carolyn Rircher explained the program in detail and after some discussion the Board agreed to a suggestion by the group that a representative of the government appear before the Board at their next regular meeting and present the plan more in detail. It was then agreed that this representative group would be at our next regular meeting with members from the War Food Administration. (9/7/44)

A month later, the inquiry continues:

> Mr. Gage from the Federal Works Agency presented to the Board of Education a detailed review of the Government Lunch Program. After some discussion by the Board, the Committee and Mr. Gage it was decided that the Board would make a final decision at their next regular meeting. (10/5/44)

Presumably, the Board was having some reservations about the government lunch program because the next meeting concluded:

> It was decided by the Board in regard to the Government Lunch Program that Mr. Smith (the Board Vice President) be appointed to visit a school where such a program was being used and report his findings to the Board at their next regular meeting. (11/9/44)

Parenthetically we would note also the cumulating form of inquiry utilized by the Board. So far: an interested citizens' committee advocates, the Board deliberates; a partisan expert advocate from the Government presents, the Board deliberates and delays. The Board discusses and sends one of its members to observe a setting and talk with individuals who have such a program in operation.

The December meeting noted:

> The Board decided to further investigate the Government Lunch Program. (12/7/44)

Between that date and September 24, 1946, when the Board accepted participation in the program, no mention of school lunches appears in the minutes:

> Mr. Everhardt made and Mr. Corder seconded a motion to enter our application for school lunch aid. (8/24/46)

The next item in the minutes relevant to lunches stated:

> Inasmuch as Federal Aid for school lunches is to be discontinued on March 31, 1947 all free school lunches will be stopped at this date. (3/13/47)

This is the first incident we were able to find of the vagaries in Federal programmatic monies in contrast to monies which are for single occasion expenses i.e. building a school building. It's possible to take a generalized negative stand regarding such "on and off" funding because of the difficulties it creates. Alternatively, one might adopt a more entrepreneurial or possibly pragmatic strategy -- obtain resources wherever possible, use them as carefully as possible to enhance important programs, don't get into a position where you have to rely on them, and be prepared to do without.

Transportation of Pupils

Our account has raised, over the years, items regarding transportation of pupils in the district. The mid 1940's saw the problem increasing in saliency. Concurrently with school lunch programs, another item which is to be so much a focus of controversy appeared:

> A committee composed of two members, Mr. Erickson and Mr. Swain of Fair Hills presented to the Board a transportation problem. The problem was that of transporting children from Fair Hills and Marquette Hills to the Elementary School. After some discussion of the various means of providing this transportation it was decided that Mr. McBride, at the call of the committee would go along with committee and talk with Mr. Voss of County Service Bus Company and see what arrangements could be made with him for providing transportation at the expense of the parents of the children who would ride the bus to school. (10/5/44)

The same evening the Board decided on entering the Federal school lunch program found them "resolving" the transportation problem:

> After a study of transportation income and expenditures and considerable discussion a motion was made by Mr. Hamilton and seconded by Mr. Ingels to authorize Superintendent McBride to place orders for two buses to be used in transporting children for the Milford School District. The motion carried. (9/24/46)

Personality Conflict: An Analysis of a Personnel Issue

Personality conflict is one of those widely used common sense labels which everyone understands but which social scientists have great difficulty rendering unambiguously. Mr. McBride seemed to have growing and continuing problems with several of the men who filled the high school principal position in the 1940's. In 1945 when Mr. Smith was principal a minute was recorded:

> It was agreed by the Board that Mr. McBride use his judgment in regard to the problem of the high school principal. (1/4/45)

In April, 1945 one of the new teachers hired was Mr. Hightower at a salary of $3000, an amount greater than any other teacher and principal in the district. Among the five:

> .... teachers to be notified that they were not re-employed. (4/5/45)

was Mr. Smith, the high school principal.

The following November 15, 1945, a minute appears:

> Mr. Hightower, Principal of the High School, presented his reactions in his new position to the Board, Superintendent, students, parents and teachers. Several special committees of teachers have been functioning, one of which, the Curriculum Committee, is seemingly displaying commendable professional interest and zeal. The subject of Curriculum Planning will be considered at a dinner to be given at City University and it was moved .... to pay for the plates of any teachers interested in this phase of work and who would care to attend. (11/15/45)

In short, a new principal has appeared. Major curriculum activity is underway. Within two years he would be in difficulty with the Superintendent and within three years he would be subject to a major inquiry and would be relieved.

But in the Spring of 1946, things were presumably going well for the Superintendent recommended him for a $300 raise to a salary of $3300, more than 10% higher than the elementary principal who was the next highest paid staff member at $2970.00. Mr. McBride's salary was increased to $4800/year. In March of 1947, Mr. Hightower's salary was increased to $3600/year by the Board. No mention was made of the Superintendent recommending the increase, as he had in the previous year.

Teacher turnover, partly voluntary due to pregnancy, illness or moving but mostly due to Board decision not to re-elect continued. In 1945 seven teachers were not reappointed, from a group of twenty-five. (Eighteen were given contracts.) In effect, between a fourth and a third were not rehired. On April 2, 1947, the Board terminated the appointments of five teachers. The phrasing of the letter included the following notice:

> *According to state law* the Board of Education must notify teachers of their failure of re-election to the Milford School Faculty before April 15, and this is your official notice that you are not being retained. (Our italics) (4/2/47)

Once again the importance of the legal context for school action appears. Most applied social science theory seems to have omitted this as a major set of variables. Without question, in our view, educational theory cannot afford to continue such neglect.

A month later the high school principal was having his problems:

> After discussing the situation of the High School Principal it was decided that if he does not secure a new position and thereby resign, he will personally appear before the Board at the June meeting. (5/13/47)

The next step involved a citizens group:

> A committee representing the Mothers Club -- Mrs. Jay, Mrs. Cento, Mrs. Houston -- appeared before the Board to voice their opinions on the work and duties of the High School Principal. Messers. Jay, Gones and Cento were also present. (6/1/47)

These items, brief as they are, actually were among the most extensive in the very sketchy minutes kept by Miss Susan Jones who had become secretary in September of 1945. Some kind of resolution to the "trouble", undefined at this point, apparently had occurred.

Some six months later, in February 1948, personnel discussions were underway:

> The estimated budget and the election of teachers and administrators were considered. Action is to be taken at a future meeting. (2/48)

In March, time was taken up with the usual items, e.g. those connected with the school Board elections, and recurring items, e.g. settlement of payment to an architect, and the hiring of a part time music teacher. In addition Mr. McBride's contract was renewed for three years at a salary of $5500. Things hadn't improved in the administration of the high school and it was noted in April:

> After considerable discussion a motion was made by Mr. Smith and seconded by Mr. Hamilton to accept the recommendation of the Superintendent not to renew the contract of Mr. S. K. Hightower. (4/2/48)

In less than two weeks, with a new school Board installed on April 6th, a special meeting was held on April 12-13. Only one item appeared in the minutes:

> Upon the recommendation of the Superintendent a motion was made by Mr. Norris and seconded by Mr. Hamilton to rescind the notice of April 2, 1948 and that a new contract for $3900 per year be offered to Mr. S. K. Hightower. Said contract to be returned within fifteen days or per Article 2, Section 10342A of the Midwest State School Laws. (4/12-13/48)

The unusual double date reflected a long evening meeting and a resolution from the wee hours of the morning. On that evening of April 12th, 1948 a "Meeting of Board of Education and Citizens Committee, Milford, Midwest State" was held. This meeting produced a *98 page stenotyped report* on the conflict between McBride and Hightower and culminated in the aforementioned rescinding of the April 2nd action and the offering of Mr. Hightower a contract. It's not clear whether Mr. Hightower returned his contract or whether he decided to quietly fade away. In a special meeting in July:

> Superintendent McBride recommended the appointment of Mr. Donald T. Green as Principal of the High School at $4100.00 per year for the school year 1948-49, contingent upon his acceptance by July 14, 1948, and also his release from his present position at Ashland[40] in Midwest State. (7/9/48)

In February of '49 his contract was renewed for two years at a salary of $4300. But it's the issues in the McBride-Hightower conflict which need to be raised, and it's to these we now turn.

It seems important to take up this case of "personality conflict", report it briefly and make the beginnings of an analysis. "Personality conflict" has appeared and reappeared in Milford. Presumably other districts have similar problems. The data are mostly from the long stenotyped report of the evening of April 12 which has been bound with the Board minutes.

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[40] An outstate small town.

The issue is initially phrased by the Board Chairman:

> We will now open the special meeting. Last Friday night we had a special meeting to talk to this committee from the mass meeting and we had Mr. McBride state his different points of non co-operation of Mr. Hightower. (p.1)

A second citizens committee, favoring the Principal, wanted to be heard. As tax payers they "demanded" a hearing:

> We ask of you to allow us and give us a hearing. We ask it, and as tax payers we demand it. We are not interested in personalities. We want to know the facts of the case and what is going on. We think we have that right as tax payers. (p.2)

As the preliminary fencing occurred about "open meetings before the entire community", mass meetings, two committees, fairness to all and so forth, Mr. McBride commented:

> Mr. Chairman, if an open meeting would result in the kind we had at the last two mass meetings, I am not in favor of going before any open meetings. (p.5)

One of the citizens referred to:

> The children went on strike for one day. (p. 5)

The context continued to unfold in another citizen comment:

> But this was your suggestion. I say these men are certainly entitled to hear this, and so are the people

> downstairs and so are the teachers downstairs and everyone else that pays taxes in this district.
>
> Lets open the whole thing to the public down in the gymnasium. You have got police protection. These people aren't fighting. (p.6)

The Board decided to go ahead with representatives of the two committees. Mr. Hightower was upset because he had to answer charges "on the spot" without knowing the specifics before hand. The first charge against Mr. Hightower was stated by Mr. McBride:

> Last Fall in connection with the operation of organizations such as PTA and Mother's Circle, it seemed that he took over the contacts in dealing with them in the arrangements of meetings and so forth. These contacts and arrangements should be handled through my office because of the fact that the organizations represent both elementary and high school.
>
> I called him in and told him about that.
>
> He had been advised at the beginning of the year to come in and talk with me on problems of these schools, and he did not come into my office until a month and a half after school started.

Mr. Hightower gave a long reply which seemed to capture from his perspective a number of elements in the personality clash. Again we quote the entire response verbatim:

> The executive committee of the PTA had a meeting at which Mr. McBride was not present. He was ill at that time, and at that meeting I was asked by both the president of the Mother's Circle and one of the officials of the PTA -- I don't know whether it was the president or not -- if it would be possible for me to prepare cards for mailing announcements announcing the meeting, and I said I would be glad to do that.

> I went ahead and prepared the cards. That is the only way I had anything to do with arranging meetings of the PTA or the Mothers' Circle.
>
> When Mr. McBride called me in, as I recall the interview, the first thing he said to me was how I thought things were going. I said I thought very well. He asked me how I thought we were getting along, and I told him very well. And he assured me that he felt the same way.
>
> Then he went on to say that he was greatly disturbed by the fact and he wondered why it was that he had not been and was not being consulted by the officials of the PTA. That they were the people -- I am quoting this as I recall it -- who had supported me in our disagreement last year and now they were asking me the questions instead of him, and at that time I gave him every assurance I could, that I thought those people were not intentionally slighting him, and I told him further that in the future when anyone asked me to do anything for the Mothers' Circle or PTA, I would refer them to him since that was his request.

The interchange went on:

> Mr. McBride: He is referring to one specific instance. As far as I recall I said nothing about the people that were supporting you last year or anything about that and I know there were a good many telephone calls and things of that sort which seemed to me could have been referred to my office.
>
> Mr. Hightower: May I say this. It is rather difficult to be in a position with a man who is so jealous of his authority that when you try to work with a duly organized group in your community and support their activity, that he write down what you do word for word and puts you on the carpet. (p. 15)

The charges, over forty, the replies and counter replies went on page after page. They included items such as:

1) The principal didn't bring any problems to the superintendent

2) The principal talked publicly "that there was something radically wrong at the Milford Village School", the elementary school which his son attended.

3) He was part of a meeting in which the high school teachers criticized the guidance program

4) He invited the Milford Village School and some rural schools in for a matinee.

5) In the High School ".... foul writing on the desks, in the rooms, on top of desks and school furniture, and they are badly marred."

6) On Saturday morning, after a play, three girls worked on the stage and no teacher or principal was present.

Each of the items received a reply, an explanation couched in terms of the nature of the school, the principal's responsibility, and his efforts to administer the school.

Then an item arose which had major consequences for the remainder of the meeting. The Superintendent charged that the Principal had made a statement about a pupil:

> We can't have him around here. Short on teachers anyway. Can't be bothered.

And, in addition, the Principal hadn't talked to the Superintendent about the case. The Principal countered with:

> I deny it.

The Superintendent rejoined:

> You are wrong, for I heard it over the telephone.

At that time in the District's history, the Superintendent was housed in the high school building. Also at that time the telephone technology or the type of service purchased was a system with several telephone receivers all connected to the same line. McBride, Hightower, and later we were to discover, several secretaries all used the same hookup. McBride's listening in on the "private" and/or "professional" calls of his employees both professional and non professional became an important issue in its own right.

The tangle of incidents went on and on. Issues such as, transporting youngsters for hearing tests were perceived by the Superintendent as "not informing me" and by the Principal as "accepting responsibility" in some cases or as "delegating responsibilities" when he had teachers take charge. Some involved the Principal's priorities in going to his Church Board meetings instead of PTA executive committee meetings. And some charges involved issues that had strong community aspects such as raising the price of admission to the high school basketball games without talking it over with the Superintendent.[41] Other items included complex issues of multiple authorities and chance events. For example, on one occasion, youngsters were being transported to an athletic event, a mix-up occurred on who was to ride on which bus, one bus broke down, the kids had dinner in a restaurant connected to a tavern, and everyone got home late.

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[41] Reading Peshkin's (1978) account of rural Mansfield, its High School and the centrality of athletics to the community clarifies how important such an issue might be perceived to be by the Superintendent.

Through the long litany of charge, explanation and counter interpretation, Mr. Hightower spoke of his "good faith and interest in your school" and "I would say they are foolish criticisms." (p. 38) At other points, Mr. McBride is saying:

> I have another note, hard to work with in promoting things for the school. In connection with the music department, two independent about high school, can't get him to talk over work. I have another note, when I asked him to come into the office he may never come in until I call him again or send for him. (pp. 39-40)

The list of items continued on through page 62 of the stenotyped notes. Images of Captain Queeg and the Caine Mutiny court-martial arose in us. Mr. McBride concluded:

> And those are notes mainly on which the basis of non-co-operation is made. And I have had to illustrate through those to show a point of why we think that there is non co-operation, and, of course, those notes are dealing with this year. (p. 62)

An extended discussion occurred among the representatives of the two citizen's groups, student representatives, and members of the Board. Most seemed to argue that 1) the problems should be settled that evening; 2) co-operation required efforts and good faith by both parties; 3) that last year's conflict had erupted again this year; 4) that both men were assets to the district; 5) that specification and separation of duties needed to be made; 6) that neither was totally in the right or wrong; 7) that the Board, because it contained no professional educator could not lay out the specific "duties" of each office; 8) that a third party might be brought in as a consultant;

9) that if the two couldn't come up with a workable specification of duties and areas of authority then one or both should be removed; 10) conciliatory language appealed again and again to "the betterment of the school", "all of us want a good school"; 11) that the two parties themselves needed to work out problems.

The culmination was:

> Upon the recommendation of the Superintendent a motion was made by Mr. Norris and seconded by Mr. Hamilton to rescind the notice of April 2, 1948 and that a new contract for $3900/year be offered to Mr. Hightower. Said contract to be returned within fifteen days as per Article 2, Section 10342-A of the Midwest State Law. The motion carried. (4/12-13/48)

In short it seemed a "fair" hearing. Charges were made and answered. Considerable information about the high school and the district appeared. Images of Principal and Superintendent were created. The Superintendent's "listening in on the phone" seemed to be a breach of professional standards which undercut the instances of "non co-operation". The Principal seemed to respond as an articulate, hardworking school man. The various parties listening to the give and take were not convinced by the Superintendent. In turn, at one point the Principal seemed to attempt to force the Board to make a choice between the two:

> I am trying to make a point here that the basic philosophies are different.
>
> It would seem to me that when that comes up that the Board, as I understand it, is the rightful one and must decide what the policy will be. They are the policy making body. Now, if you agree with what Mr. McBide's policies are, the ones you want, it is my

> duty to see that I do it. If you agree that my policy is the one you want, then it is my duty to see that he lets me do it. (p. 81)

Discussion continued back and forth regarding the responsibilities of superintendent and board and options such as third parties to help settle the issues.

We have spoken of the events as a "personality conflict." Members of the meeting used such adjectives and norms as:

friction	p. 63
one man's word against the others	p. 64
a misunderstanding or overlap of authority	p. 64
where one's authority starts and where the other's begins	p. 65
last year there was trouble and this year again we have troubles	p. 65
some misunderstanding there that can be corrected	p. 66
differences of opinion	p. 67
this isn't a fight over personalities, we are not after Mr. McBride's hide	p. 69
these two men were not getting along	p.
relationship was strained during the whole year	p. 72
overlapping of duties	p. 76
these difficulties	p. 77
differences needed to be ironed out	p. 77
not just lack of co-operation but discord	p. 79
they weren't getting along together	p. 80
the basic philosophies are different	p. 81

We presume that when phrases such as these appear in the conversations and discussions of citizens, communities, and school board members then much larger issues exist regarding authority, status, and self-esteem.

School drama, tends to be less like classical drama where conflict arises, a crisis appears and the denouement arrive, and more like theater of the absurd where one walks in and out of a drama which seemingly has no beginning and end. In July a Mr. Donald T. Green was recommended and hired as principal. Mr. Hightower disappears from the scene.

4.4 Further Interim Generalizations

In General

Rather than recounting more instances of curriculum change and Board activity, it's easier to make several generalizations. First, the curriculum tended to grow piece by piece as new subjects were added, equipment was purchased and specialized teachers were hired. While the data are not clear, many of the changes seem to be occurring around the country and in the neighboring "Big City." As interest was expressed by members of the community, as school size continued to increase, and as resources were available the Board considered and moved.

The second generalization is that the '39-'40, and '40-'41 school year minutes reflect a major shift in the Board's monitoring school programs. A systematic invitation to teachers (and on occasion students) to present their program of study for the Board's information and implicit review. It was as though the Board was getting farther and farther away from the day to day operation of the school and from more intimate contacts with teachers, parents, and students. Now, as new programs - sex education and guidance, for instance - took form the Board invited in teachers, listened to formal presentations, and engaged in "quite a bit of discussion".

Third, the Board's involvement with students most typically was with discipline cases, suspensions, parent reports and some kind of Board disposition and action. On occasion the Board responded to or celebrated student achievement and honors. On December 4th, 1940:

> Bill Olson gave his declaration before the Board, with which he won first place at a contest at Kennard.[42]
> (12/4/40)

Later that Spring a special award was authorized, "the cost not to exceed $10.00"[43] for a student who won a "No. 1 rating" at the state music contest.

Fourth, a closeness and intimacy existed between the Board and the community and implicitly between these groups, the administration and the staff:

> Mr. McBride then gave his monthly report. Some discussion of the vocational guidance program. A special meeting is to be held on Thursday evening, January 16, to discuss plans and procedures for vocational guidance, and each Board member is to *bring with him anyone who he thinks might be interested in helping with this program.* A motion was made by Mr. Reynolds, seconded by Mr. Keyser, that we institute the plan for distributive education as outlined in Paragraph 3 of the Superintendent's report of January 2, 1941. The motion carried. (Our italics)
> (1/2/41)

The "bring with him anyone who he thinks might be interested in helping with this program" captures the informality, non specialization of functions, and the closeness among school and community.

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[42] A neighboring district

[43] $10.00 for that time is a large amount of money. Teacher salaries ranged between $100 and $150/month.

The last sentence in the minutes suggests also the increasing initiatives on the part of the Superintendent. As a *fifth* generalization, more of an hypothesis, this seems a very important part of the changing dynamics of the district. The position had been established ten years before. Now the role seemed to be moving from the superintendent as a responder to the requests of the Board to an initiator of ideas and procedures. This reached its zenith twenty years later with Steven Spanman. A further complexity is the subtlety of this proactive/reactive relationship, the coming and going of Board members by election and superintendents by appointment, and the visibility of the initiating and responding processes. Further "strong personalities" in any part of the system made for all kinds of conflict.

A *sixth* generalization has to do with district traditions. The notes take on importance only after one sees, as we have reported elsewhere (Volume IV), the great concern for music at Kensington, the annual "performances" in each elementary school and the implicit comparisons among the various schools. Knowing all that, and seeing the gradual accumulation of items regarding pianos and instruments such as bassons and french horns gives special meaning to a small item buried in the minutes:

> It is the wish of the Board that we send the band, choruses, ensembles, etc. which all received State ratings at the Music Festival at Suburban City to the State meet at Collegeville. A concert is to be held to raise money to help pay the expenses of this trip.

In addition it seems important to note that tax funds pay only part of the expenses (e.g. teacher's basic salaries) and that part of the funding comes from local activity. The consequences of this for "building community" is obvious to anyone who has worked on and shared in school picnics, carnivals, and festivals. Tax monies remove contributions from a personal to an impersonal level.

A seventh generalization has to do with the Federal presence in the district. In the 1980's it is easy to forget, or to be born too late to have known first hand, the conditions of life in the 1930's. The "great depression" arouses neither images nor emotions it once did. Being able to transport one's self back in time and to perceive the world and its problems from the perspective of the participants is a fundamental tenet in the theories of some sociologists, the symbolic interactionists, and in some historians. For instance we find Collingwood saying:

> .... the only way to tackle any historical question .... was to see what the different people were trying to do. History did not mean knowing what events followed what. It meant getting inside other people's heads, looking at their situation through their eyes, and thinking for yourself whether the way in which they tackled it was the right way. (1978, p.58)

As we think about McBride and the Board soliciting funds in 1935 for a new school, the realities of the depression, the limited local tax base and the difficulty in paying off bonds, it is easy to see the Board's eagerness to "accepts the loan and grant" and its willingness to accept also the "PWA rules and regulations imposed by the President of the United States."

Later items, concerning bids for equipment, indicate the Board's successful wrestling with the rules and red tape to obtain the kind and quality of waste baskets, desks, lockers and so forth.

Besides the depression, nationalization of issues and activities because of World War II, seemed to trickle into the Milford School District. Aid to areas with large defense establishments led to concerns and inquiry by local authorities as did policies for teachers called into service. We noted also that discussions began regarding post World War II policies, and an implication that a return to some kind of "normalcy" seemed to exist.

In brief, an additional unit, force, or partner has entered the interactive mix of people, organizations, and political units who determine school policy in the Milford School District. At that time it was not a "laid on" set of prescriptions nor a "coerced" partnership. The Milford Board had large and difficult problems to solve. Roosevelt and the Congress with large mandates in '32, '34, and '36 elections created options to help solve those problems.

The Nature of the Flow of Activities

In our reading of the minutes and attempting to render them into a coherent story we keep using the word "concurrently." As we have indicated some items are regularities in the monthly minutes e.g. treasurers report, cafeteria report, reading of bills. Others items come flickering in, unobtrusively and with only a hint of bigger issues to come. Others fade in and out with hardly a trace. The reader can only speculate on the significance of an item. For example:

> It was agreed that Mr. McBride use his judgment in regard to the problem of the high school principal.
> (1/4/45)

Similarly an item appeared concerning discussions with a local manufacturing plant which wanted to expand and needed to move the Attucks School if it was to do so. And then a more general item a month later:

> A motion was made .... that, as in the past the Board take no sides in any political discussions, national, state, city or county. (2/1/45)

We are really trying to make several simple but potent points:

1) Multiple strands of activity occur in school Board functioning
2) Some of those are regular, some episodic, some build toward crisis and resolution
3) Methodologies have to be subtle and flexible if they are to capture such phenomena

For us the argument is an old one (see the discussion of multiple strands in teaching in Smith and Geoffrey, 1968 p. 105). We feel it remains potent in a theory of educational action at the classroom level and at the Board level. Other aspects of our account suggest it is critical at the school or principal's level and at the district or superintendent's level.

More About Board Activities and Functions

Reading the minutes of the Board, item by item, motion by motion, month by month, and year by year, gradually induces a set of images, conceptions, and generalizations about Board activity in a small town quasi rural district. It seems appropriate to state these:

1) The Board, regularly as clock work, and in accordance with state law, renews itself with annual elections and occasionally voting in new members when resignations occur.

2) The Board is perpetually involved with financing the schools. Tax levies, bond issues, and multiple funds appear and reappear as regular issues.

3) Episodically the Board buys property, builds new schools, and adds additions to old ones. During those periods a flurry of special activity, community discussion, persuasion, and sometimes conflict occurs.

4) The business aspects of schools - e.g. cafeteria items appear regularly as do the reading of the general bills. A treasurer's report appears monthly.

5) Personnel issues appear constantly. Teachers are "elected", not reappointed, resign and move away. None seemed to retire in these early years. Custodians seem to be in continuous conflict (drinking, insubordination, etc.) and come and go with great frequency.

6) The day to day "trivia", at least at the formal level of consenting to the need for funds, apppears as coal is bought, repairs are made to buildings, supplies are ordered and new equipment is considered.

7) Finally, and as we have noted, increasing attention seems to be paid to curriculum and programs.

8) Educational researchers often lament that their research data, theory and wisdom rarely influences practical men and women. Rather it seems that practical decisions receive their influences from elsewhere. An illustration from the Board minutes enables us to carry forward one line of our analysis:

> There was some discussion of the amount of the Treasurer's Bond. Mr. McBride is to check with other districts in regard to the amount of bond carried by their treasurers. (10/2/40)

The importance of this element has not been well recognized in educational administration theory. The implications for fairness and justice and for reasonableness and legitimacy in school policy discussions and negotiations seem very important.

Variety and Scope of Superintendent Activities

The incredible variety and scope of tasks which the superintendent must handle seems awesome as the staccato like minutes flip by. Just to summerize and list a few from these early years of McBride's tenure:

1) Budget
2) Adult education
3) Interpret state legislation
4) Seek and win government building contracts
5) Meeting with parents on reorganizing school
6) Work with Board on bids for equipment
7) Attend state and national professional meetings
8) Arrange school picnic
9) Judge and buy audio-visual equipment
10) Develop a kindergarten program
11) Supervise community use of buildings
12) Investigate legal aspects of pupil enrollment
13) Focus of post war planning
14) Working out transportation procedures
15) In the late 1930's, most of Suburban County's 90 school districts were small one or two room schools headed by a three person board of directors. The County Superintendent was a powerful figure - e.g. examining and accrediting 8th grade graduates. In 1938, we find that McBride is attending meetings of some part of the Superintendents at the County Superintendents office.

If these are at all representative of superintendents in other times and places, and we believe they are, they speak loudly to educational training programs, to conceptualization of alternative organizational structures and processes, and to the continued mutual adjustment of the "is's" and "oughts" of school administration.

Personnel Generalizations

We have not systematically developed a file of every teacher and principal who has worked in the Milford School District. At some point it seems that such a data set should be developed to verify several tentative generalizations:

1) Throughout the history of the district, teacher turnover is very high. In the mid and late 1940's some half dozen teachers out of twenty-four or five are not rehired each year.

2) Along the way another two or three seem to resign for reasons of marriage, pregnancy, moving, or need to care for an invalid relative.

3) The argument seems applicable also to the turnover of principals.

4) If this is true in other districts, school teaching in the first half of the 20th Century was a very precarious occupation.

5) Gradually state laws began to hem in the free wheeling action and power of the school board.

Growth and Change: Milford as "Topsy"

Some years ago, we were criticized as racist for using the phrase "Growing like Topsy." We didn't feel that was justified then or now. Topsy is a major literary character whose childhood seemed to be effortlessly controlled more by her own devices than by some highly articulated plan. Much of life seems that way. The Milford School Disctrict seemed to grow in much the same pragmatic fashion. More recently social scientists have captured the same phenomenon with labels such as muddling through or incrementation. Lindblom argues that it is "the" way of describing change in a democratic community, national or state.

5. TRANSITION: THE MODERNIZATION OF MILFORD, 1949-52

5.1 Introduction

The arbitrariness in selecting any year, for instance, 1949, '50, or '51 as the cut off period in the two phases of the long tenure of Mr. McBride is clearly seen in the events of the Spring of 1949. Mr. Lewis, a major figure on the Board for a number of years was elected. A series of items with far reaching significance arose early:

1) The superintendent was authorized "to sign teachers up as he finds them without the Board's approval when necessary, in order to be sure of getting them."

2) "A discussion was held on the Education of Handicapped Children in the community." Within a decade, a county wide program would be "the" resolution until PL 94-142 appeared in 1975.

3) Inquiries regarding a neighboring Vocational School were instituted. This problem, too, would be solved with a Suburban County wide program in another decade and a half.

4) The resolution of the new Attucks School has been noted. That lasted only until 1955, the year after the Brown and Topeka decision.

5) A Drivers Education Program was considered.

6) The continuing general question of church-state relations arose: ".... the Gideon Society had requested the privelege of giving out Bibles to all the school children from the 5th grade up that wanted them. It was agreed to let them do so."

7) The first recorded item and formal "instructing" of the Board arose:

> Mr. McBride mentioned that he would have 'What the High School Ought to Teach", a pamphlet by Mr. Charles W. Boardman for the Board members at the next meeting. (5/10/49)

8) Arrangements were made to have buses driven by full time District employees. This problem was to remain with the District, seemingly forever.

9) Questionnaires were sent to teachers soliciting their opinions on a number of matters. Teacher influence on District policy will have a fascinating but stormy history in the District.

10) Responsibility for granting use of buildings by outside groups was delegated to the Superintendent. This role and the varied incumbents over the next thirty years have been equally fascinating and stormy.

11) For the first time also, the Superintendent's Report to the Board was now prepared in mimeographed form and bound into the Board minutes.[44] The data, for later generations of practitioners and researchers, has been elaborated, and, hence, transformed.

It was a busy, full agenda. A cluster of items moving the District out from its small rural status into what shortly would be a burgeoning suburban school district was evident. In short, we argue for considering the 1949-52 period as a transition time. The discussion expands the description and analysis.

5.2 Attachment and Annexation: Marquette Joins Milford

On Thursday, May 19th, 1949, the Milford School District increased in size by 50%.[45] A neighboring school district, Marquette voted to "become attached or annexed" to Milford. In a sense, this, too, argues for the 1949 year as a key demarcation point. The geographical boundaries of the District have been set for the next thirty years, that is, to the present. Further attempts at consolidation will be resisted -- successfully. The formal steps seem quite simple. First, a petition was presented to the Marquette Board of Education on May 2nd, 1949. A copy appears as Figure 9.

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[44] We have no data to distinguish between the first formal preparation of his report and their being bound in the minutes.

[45] Milford had 28 teachers and 667 pupils. Marquette had 11 teachers and 317 pupils.

Insert Figure 9 about here

Second, the Board held a public meeting:

> The Board then went on record to have a mass meeting of the district so they could explain and answer any questions which could be in the minds of the people of the district. (5/2/49)

Third, the election was held, as indicated by the announcement presented as Figure 10.

Insert Figure 10 about here

The vote was reported in the minutes of the regular Board meeting on the evening of May 19:

> The secretary at this time read the results of the election which was held at the school on the attachment or annexation to the Milford School District (as per attached Ballot).
>
> The result was as follows:
>
> For Annexation ------------- 240 votes
> Against Annexation ---------- 7 votes
> Void Ballots --------------- 4 votes
>
> The President then instructed the secretary to notify the Milford School Board of the results of today's election and to await their reply. (5/19/49)

PETITION FOR ANNEXATION

TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION
SCHOOL DISTRICT OF MARQUETTE

We, the undersigned, qualified voters of the School District of Marquette, County of Suburbia, State of Midwest, desire that the School District of Marquette be attached to the adjoining School District of Milford, for school purposes, in accordance with and under the authority of Section 10484, Revised Statues of Midwest State, 1939, as amended, and do hereby petition you to call a special meeting or election according to law, to test the sentiment of the qualified voters, voting at such election, upon such desired attachment.

(28 signatures)

Figure 9: Petition for Annexation

NOTICE OF SPECIAL SCHOOL ELECTION

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN to the qualified voters of the School District of Marquette, County of Suburbia, State of Midwest, that a special school election of said District will be held at the School Building on Downing Drive in said District, on Thursday, May 19th, 1949 commencing at 7 O'clock A.M., and ending at 6 O'clock P.M. on that day, at which meeting or election the following will be proposed and voted upon:

> PROPOSITION: That the School District of Marquette become attached or annexed to the adjoining School District of Milford, for school purposes, as authorized by Section 10484, Revised Statutes of Midwest State, 1939, as amended.

By order of the Board of Education of the School District of Marquette, Suburbia County, Midwest State, this 2nd Day of May, 1949.

William D. Metcalfe
Secretary, Board of Education
School District of Marquette

Figure 10: Notice of Election

At that time there were 380 pupils in Grades 1-8, and an additional 51 in kindergarten. The number of graduates that Spring was 24. There had been 32 the previous year.

The Milford Board met in Special Session, May 31st, 1949. It voted unanimously to "annex and attach" the boundaries, property and monies of the Marquette District.

The County Board of Education had recommended, at least as one alternative, the consolidating of five additional elementary districts into the Milford District. The Milford Superintendent's Report to the Board on May 10, 1949 under item 11 referred to:

> Report of County Board of Education to State Board of Education on proposed reorganized district:
>
> Milford
> Marquette
> Union
> Caldwell
> Morrison
> Rhodes
> Dudley

Three of those small districts had two teachers, one had one teacher and one had no teacher, not even a school. Several were schools which had sent pupils to Milford High School School for a number of years, several of whom were in the first high school graduating class of 1931.

5.3 Formalization of Organizational Structures and Processes

Throughout our account of the evolution of the Milford Schools we have noted a gradual extension of goals and functions, e.g. establishment of the

High School, the Kindergarten and so forth. As these have occurred new structures and processes have appeared in buildings, positions, policies, rules and regulations. Another aspect of 1949-52 period as a transition is the formalization of organizational structures and processes. We noted already the formal mineographed report of the Superintendent. In May of 1949 the word came from the State Department of Education that in the 1950-51 year all schools would be classified as A, AA, or AAA. The word to the wise included:

1) formation of written policies
2) development of philosophy and objective
3) certification of all teachers
4) school librarian in place
5) purchase of supplies and equipment

In the same meeting, Mr. McBride presented a "how-to-do-it" outline which Englehart and Engelhart had published in the American School Board Journal:

1) Organization, procedure and duties of the Board
2) Office and duties of the superintendent
3) Personnel
4) General policies

In addition seven rules of thumb were presented by Engelhart and Engelhart regarding the preparation of the rules and regulations. In paraphrased form they are:

1) consistent with the law
2) guiding principles rather than collections of detailed instructions
3) reflect board policies not administrative procedures
4) framed by executive and professional staff and approved by board
5) not restrict initiative but define range of duties of individuals and groups
6) recognize "professional character of the workers"
7) part of minutes record of board and not modified with out board's consent

In June, the array of "summer items" continued to appear in the minutes. On June 14th, a half dozen teacher contracts were issued. The discussions continued with Quaker Company over the dynamite blasting and relocating of the Attucks School. The Board went to a lawer for a legal opinion. Continued blending of finances between the Marquette School and Milford Schools occurred. The janitors salaries were increased. The 5% boosted them ($2,520, $2,184, $2,310) above the salaries of some of the new teachers. The elementary teachers were paid less than the secondary teachers.

Regarding curriculum, instruction, and school affairs, it was noted that Mr. McBride distributed the pamphlet "What the High School Ought to Teach." He noted also that the High School had 33½ units of credit approved by the State Department of Education. And a final item appeared:

> A discussion was held on the recent "M" Club invitation. It was decided that rather than stop it entirely and drive it underground, that something of a milder nature be substituted to satisfy the majority of club members.
> (6/14/49)

The results of the survey of teachers were also reported. This seemed important in several regards:

1) The Board continued the tradition of soliciting teacher opinions
2) For the first time, a formal questionnaire was used
3) Elementary Teacher results were separated from that of the High School Teachers
4) The nine questions covered issued of governance, curriculum, and teacher evaluation

Question #1 asked "Do you feel that the formulation of an educational program in Milford has been a democratic process involving you of the professional staff?" (16 yes's, 1 no). Question #9, "Have you ever been asked to do anything that you could not consider being completely ethical?" (1 yes, 16 no's). The only item with split views concerned teacher evaluation:

> Would you welcome the opportunity of aiding in the establishment of a system of teacher evaluation?

The split was 3 to 5, yea and nay in the high school and 5 to 3, yea and nay in the elementary school.

5.4 The Continuing Themes

During the 1949-52 period, most of the stories we have been telling and the themes we have been exploring continued. Rather than detailing these at length, we will allude to them only briefly and illustratively. For instance, on April 7, 1949, with the new Board members, Mr. Lewis and Mr. Norton, agreements were reached on several aspects of the Superintendent's Report:

> It was decided to determine if more than 1 candidate is available for our vacancies in teachers. If more than 1 is available the Board will consider the qualifications of the candidates. (4/7/49)

This sounds as though efforts were starting to increase the size of the pool of teacher candidates and thereby the quality of the staff.

The problems continued with the Black school and the Quaker Manufacturing Company over land usage and rebuilding the school:

> It was determined to do some additional studying before deciding just what has to be done about the Negro building situation including that of future usage and possibility of paying tuition in Big City. (4/7/49)

The negotiations with Quaker Company continued. On October 11, 1949, the Board voted to ask for $18,000 for a new two room frame building for the Attucks School. A month later, it was reported that the Company made the payment. In the next few months plans were drawn, bids were let, and the low bid was accepted (2/7/50). Construction began immediately. Ironically, Big City rejected those overtures. The Superintendent's Report contained the brief item "Negro children -- the City will not accept them." (5/10/49) Now, after a new school building was built, a 1954 Supreme Court Decision, changing populations, discussions are underway about a metropolitan, City-County, desegregation plan.

The cafeteria continued along:

> The suggestion from the County Board of Health that silverware be divided, that we improve fly control in the cafeteria, that granitework be replaced, that only one individual handle straws and that garbage can be washed weekly will be followed. (4/7/49)

And finally another of the never ending events:

> The school bus and drivers were discussed and it was decided to check further into the matter. (4/7/49)

Concerns for handicapped youngsters continued to be raised, not only in Milford but all over Suburban County:

> Mr. McBride reported on a committee that was being formed in order to find out whether or not a central school could be started to care for all handicapped children in the county. (11/11/49)

Similar concerns arose over vocational education:

> A discussion was held on the Vandeventer Vocational School. It was decided that Mr. McBride again talk to Mr. DeLuca regarding whether or not there would be any students here that would benefit more by going to the vocational school half time than by staying here all day. (11/11/49)

Discussions on school reorganization, circulation of literature, and a Board resolution in favor of reorganization (9/13/49) all occurred. The community opposed the idea:

For	690
Against	1,700
Total	2,350

(11/11/49)

The Milford District remains to this day as it was decided on that day thirty years ago.

Mr. Hightower returned to the scene also in the form of a request to have a copy of the transcript of the public hearing, a year and a half before. The Board tabled the request (12/13/49). In January, the Board took up the issue again. Enigmatically the minutes suggest the drama underway:

> The request of Mr. Hightower to make the transcript of the hearing granted to him in April, 1948, a part of his record, which was tabled at the December meeting, was brought up for consideration. After some discussion, Mr. Lewis made a motion that the afore mentioned transcript be made a part of the official minutes of the Milford School Board. As there was no second to this motion the discussion was continued. Mr. Hamilton then made the suggestion that the Board send Mr. Hightower a letter of recommendation but this was not acted on by the Board. After considerable more discussion Mr. Lewis again stated his motion which was seconded by Mr. Wells.[46]

[46] Mr. Wells just that evening had been nominated by Lewis and passed by the Board to fill the position opened by Mr. Everhardt's resignation.

> At the suggestion of Mr. Jennings the motion was amended to include a copy of the transcript to be sent to City University to be attached to Mr. Hightower's record. This amended motion was seconded by Mr. Hamilton and passed by the Board. (1/ /50)

A week later (1/12/50) the Board received a thank you letter from Mr. Hightower.[47]

In December of 1949, another "first" occurred in the District. Plans were underway to establish a citizen's committee regarding school finances:

> School Finance Committee. An extensive discussion was held on the way to select the original committee to study the school finances. Mr. Lewis moved to send a post card to the community with a return card attached to return if interested in serving on the committee, to try to get a representative group. Mr. Jennings seconded the motion, which carried. (12/13/49)

On February (the 14th), the Board decided to meet jointly with the new citizen's committee to discuss ways to present the new school levy to the people of the district. The levy passed in April and a new "Lay Committee" was formed.

5.5 More Evidence of Transition

The Need for a New School[48]

In the Summer of 1949, the first Board minute appeared regarding what was to be the population explosion:

---

[47] Interestingly two sets of minutes of that meeting are bound into the official record. They are identical except for the inclusion of the Hightower item in one and its omission in the other.

[48] This is our label, and as the reader has noted, is ethnocentric for the new Attucks School was built in the Spring of 1950.

> The building of a new subdivision on the southwest section of our school district and a suitable site for another elementary school were discussed. It was decided that we would try to get more data on other subdivisions as to how the number of children run in proportion to the number of homes. (7/12/49)

The enrollments that Autumn were 1,151 students. Subtotals appear in Figure 11. A few high school students were enrolled in neighboring districts where they had started before the merger. The minutes mention a handful of special education students in private schools.

Insert Figure 11 about here

Report after report on new subdivisions appeared. For instance, Wooded Valley - "A total of 733 homes in the next 2½-3 years" appears in the Superintendent's Report of October 11, 1949. The magnitude of suburbanization kept appearing in vivid numbers:

> Mr. McBride reported on the new Edinburg Estates subdivision, stating that 2,400 homes were to be built within the next three years, beginning this July, and that a tentative site for a school of about 4-5 acres had been discussed. (6/13/50)

A variety of temporizing actions were taken and they illustrate the interconnected complications which must be considered by the Board and administration as the District changed:

> An extensive discussion was held concerning the grade organization of the three schools. It was decided that an extra room be built at Marquette School and also to bring Marquette's eighth grade to the high school. It was further decided to prepare an extra room at Milford Elementary School, leaving the seventh grade at Milford Elementary. The problem of transporting the eighth

	Milford	Marquette	Attucks
Elementary	305	439	17
Kindergarten	49	58	
1	48	54	
2	58	63	
3	44	53	
4	39	43	
5	32	38	
6	35	56	
7	--	39	
8	--	35	
High School	390		
7	37		
8	34		
Freshman	109		
Sophomore	73		
Junior	77		
Senior	60		

Figure 11: Enrollment in Milford in Autumn 1949

> graders from Marquette was brought up for discussion; it was decided to talk with the Suburban Bus Company to see if something could be worked out with them. (5/16/50)

The Creation of a New Central Office Position

With the consolidation of Milford and Marquette in 1949, the District, in one stroke, increased in size by fifty percent. The geographical area increased, which meant some of the youngsters had long distances to travel to the high school. In addition, the Superintendent/Principal of Marquette joined the consolidated Milford staff and became Principal of the school. By virtue of his prior position one might argue he was over qualified for that job alone. The post war suburban growth was beginning, each year 50-100 additional younsters were coming into the schools. Rooms were added. New curricula and teachers were added. Finally, the projections on increases in student enrollment were of the order of 500 youngsters per year. Literally a school a year was to be built. That process, as we have indicated elsewhere, demanded hours of time in an array of activities by the Board and the administrative staff. One way to handle these needs is the creation of a new central office position. After some discussion on the nature and scope of the work, Mr. Unger was given the post of Director of Elementary Education and was made responsible for the several elementary schools. The minutes read this way:

> A discussion was held regarding having Mr. Unger as half time principal at both elementary schools, working him up to elementary supervisor over all elementary schools. It was decided to delay action on his contract until this could be discussed with him and with the State Department of Education. (2/27/51)

In a related move the contract of the Principal of Milford Elementary School, Mr. Langwell, was also held up. Two months later:

> .... that Mr. Langwell be notified that he is not being re-employed for next year due to the following reason; that the Board has discussed as early as three months ago the plan of setting up a Director of Elementary Education and that an assistant be employed in the person of a young man to be trained and work with the Director of Education. This notification is to be tendered before the 15th of April according to Section 10342A of Midwest State School Laws, 1947. Motion carried. (4/10/51)

Immediately afterward Mr. Unger was tendered a new contract as Director of Elementary Education.

If one looks a bit more abstractly at these events they can be conceptualized. We have developed a model, Figure 12 to represent the sequence of events. District consolidation and district population increase caused an increase in district size and led to projections of further increases. This precipitated at least four kinds of tasks and activities, plans and arrangements for new buildings, temporary facilities, staffing needs and changes, and the ambiguous transportation problems. Someone has to do the enlarging quantity of work, and a new position is created. The presence of Mr. Unger, formerly a "superintendent", argues for his becoming the incumbent.

Insert Figure 12 about here

These events and processes seem so much a part of common sense, they seem "natural." Further, a look back at Mrs. Briggs' arrival as teacher and principal for the new High School and her later becoming Superintendent had much the same quality.

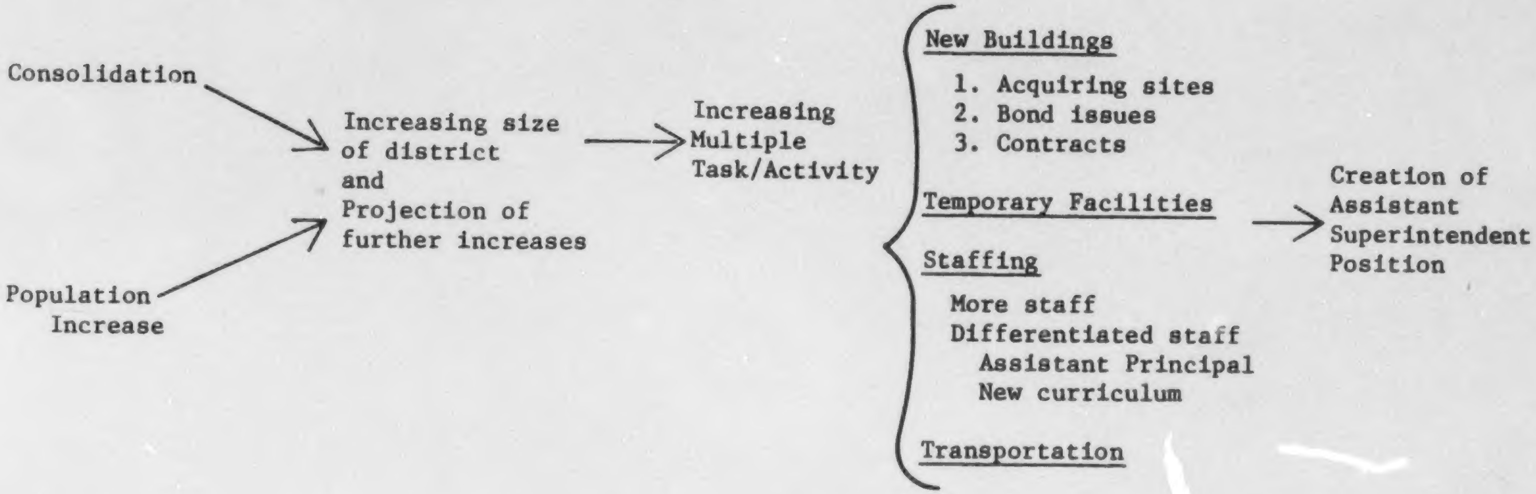
Consolidation
Population Increase
Increasing size of district and Projection of further increases
Increasing Multiple Task/Activity
New Buildings
1. Acquiring sites
2. Bond issues
3. Contracts
Temporary Facilities
Staffing
More staff
Differentiated staff
Assistant Principal
New curriculum
Transportation
Creation of Assistant Superintendent Position

Figure 12: Antecedents of Organizational Change: The Creation of a New Position

5.6 The Strong Board Member: An Infrequent But Major Event

As we indicated, at a special meeting of the Board on July 9, 1948, a new High School Principal was hired, Donald T. Green. Teachers continued to come and go as two new staff were hired. Building maintenance remained a continuing problem and a plumbing contract was let. Technology continued to invade the schools - a liquid duplicator was bought for the elementary school and an electric stove was purchased for the Attucks School (8/3/48). (Later it was stolen.) Authorized car mileage went to 6¢/mile. Data were to be obtained:

> .... concerning the per-pupil cost with a view toward raising the tuition of non-resident students at a propitious time. (11/16/48)

Public health measures continued in well measured strides:

> A motion .... to accept with thanks the proposed installation of germicidal lamp in the kindergarten. The motion carried. (12/14/48)

All local educational and religious organizations within the district would now be charged $15.00/night to use the school buildings. A month later a note indicated two requests were made for such use. In February, the Board voted to increase non-resident high school tuition from $100/year to $163/year. Vandalism insurance on all three district buildings appeared in February, 1948 also. In the March discussions of the coming elections, the Board voted for another kind of insurance:

> A motion was made by Mr. Jay and Mr. Norris to first place the names of the incumbents, in order of length of service, followed by other candidates in order of date of filing on the official ballot. The motion carried. (3/8/49)

But insurance sometimesdoesn't work. A month later the minutes record the votes:

Incumbent	341
"	416
"	92
F. J. Lewis	529
M. T. Norton	509

Mr. Lewis and Mr. Norton were sworn in.

At times it is difficult to judge whether the Board took on new vigor with the election of new directors or whether a shift in secretaries engendered a new style in reporting. Probably some of both. When Mr. F. J. Lewis joined the Board and became secretary, the minutes doubled or tripled in length, the Board seemed more active, and Mr. Lewis seemed in the middle of that action.

An image arose gradually in reading the minutes after the election of Mr. Lewis. As we have related, he became secretary of the Board and the quantity and quality of the minutes shifted dramatically. Notes occurred of his involvement in AASA, traveling to Atlantic City, bringing back ideas, inserting them into Board discussions and action. Atempts to define responsibilities of the Board, the Superintendent, the Principals, as major positions in themselves, as related to the other positions, and even more critically in Milford, of the relations among the incumbents of each of the positions. Gradually, an evaluative aspect of this arose and reached several climaxes. Mr. Lewis voted against a salary increase for the Superintendent and presented a long bill of particulars. Later, a call for termination of Mr. McBride's contract arose, and became a community issue of considerable magnitude.

The data fill in the overview this way. In March of 1950 a special meeting of the Board was held:

> Board action on the petition from some of the children was discussed.
>
> The Board then passed the following resolution:
>
> The Board of Education goes on record as reaffirming all policies of the Board and the School and that all problems must be taken up with the proper Teachers, Supervisors, and Administrators. (3/21/50)

At the next meeting, the two new Board members were elected, sworn in, and then nominated and voted in as President and Vice President. The agenda was full:

> The Board recommended that Mr. McBride send letters to the parents of the pupils through the mail and by the pupils and also put an open letter to the people in the Village News and the Township News, with Mr. Lewis Mr. Norton working with him on it. (4/6/50)

Two items later in the same evening:

> Mr. Lewis moved that on April 25th a general meeting about our education program be held, which was seconded by Mr. Norris and carried. (4/6/50)

In executive session that same evening:

> It was decided that a general report be kept on teachers throughout the year, both good and bad reports, by the Principals for the Board's attention. (4/6/50)

That meeting was held after the regular Board meeting:

> After adjournment an hour of open discussion was spent with the people who were present as visitors. (4/25/50)

In May,

> Mr. Lewis moved that the Board spend up to $1500.00 for library books for the high school, which was seconded by Mr. Norton and carried. (5/16/50)

The meeting was introduced and thereby labeled in the minutes as follows:

> The first meeting of the Milford School Board for the discussion of Educational Programs and Procedures was called to order .... (4/25/50)

A month later:

> The Regular Monthly for Educational Programs and Procedures was called to order. (5/31/50)

The main items of business:

> The President read the various lists of recommendations for the Lay Committee.
>
> It was agreed to have the Lay Committee ready to go at the next meeting for Educational Programs and Precedures.
>
> After adjournment over an hour of open discussion was spent with the people who were present as visitors. (5/31/50)

Several items had a jarring ring to them as one read along:

> Mr. Trotter suggested that a survey be made of other schools concerning the custodial standards as to age, health, etc. Mr. Lewis suggested that a survery also be made concerning how much work a custodian can do. It was suggested that Mr. McBride get a book on custodial help. (6/13/50)

The nature and quality of information related to school functioning shifted during this period. Three kinds of data seemed involved: comparative data from neighboring districts, and increase in meeting attendance and reporting back by administrators and Board members, and an appeal to published statements.

More specifically, a letter from a prominant local Superintendent regarding fund raising organizations was read and the policy statements accepted. The Superintendents of Suburban County were developing their own internal leadership, to a degree independent of the County Superintendent's office. Names of books and pamphlets, The Custodian by Viles and Developing School Plant and Programs were being purchased, read and discussed. The Superintendent's Report of 1/9/51 mentions "Midwest State Schools" (the state NEA journal), Nations Schools and School and Community and articles such as "A Message to Boards of Education" and "The Nation Reaches a Verdict." And thirdly:

> Mr. Norton moved to send Mr. Lewis as a member of the school Board with Mr. McBride to the National Administrators Convention in Atlantic City in order to get both a professional and a layman's viewpoint of the convention, which was seconded and carried. (1/9/51)

The Board seemed to be arming itself in several ways.

The Board's thrust for upgrading school programs continued. Not only were there now regular Board meetings on Education Program and Procedure but the Board divided itself into three sub-committees. House, Insurance, and Education. Mr. Lewis and Mr. Gordon were members of the Educational Committee. (4/10/51) Two weeks later (4/24/51), on a motion by Mr. Lewis and a unanimous Board vote a Diversified Occupations Course was approved for the Fall term. On May 16th, on a motion by Mr. Lewis the Board unanimously:

> .... agreed to have a three day work shop before school starts and to pay teachers for these three days.
> (5/16/51)

Two weeks later, the thrust continued:

> The following three goals from Mr. Lewis' recommendations to the Board as the result of his attending AASA convention in February were discussed and it was decided to implement them as quickly as possible. They are:
>
> 1) An adequate building program.
> 2) A public relations program that will not only keep the public continuously informed but will engender a democratic attitude in the community that will carry over into the schools.
> 3) Complete information on:
>   a. Teacher conferences with administration
>   b. Guidance results
>   c. Testing program (5/29/51)

The intensity of concern seemed exhibited in another two lines:

> *Several hours* were devoted to the discussion of part of Mr. McBride's report of the Denver conference. (Our italics)
> (8/29/51)

The Denver Conference was on Public Relations and Mr. McBride had been expensed there as well as to a State Meeting at State University. (5/29/51)

Correlated with those moves by Mr. Lewis and the Board were the increasing formalization of state regulations. Inserted in the Board minutes is the State Department's moves regarding "Classification and Accreditation." Milford High School offered 37½ units of approved credit and was due to receive a Triple A classification in the next year.

Problems seemed to continue at the High School:

> After considerable discussion about the lack of progress and the proper administration of our High School it was agreed that Mr. McBride give a memorandum to Mr. Clark on suggestions for improving conditions, and that in return Mr. Clark submit a program for correction these conditions. (10/29/52)

A month later (11/25/52) the Superintendent was urging the Principal's resignation. The Board argued and voted for a hearing before final action. A week later (12/2/52) the Board met in executive session and accepted the Principal's resignation. The notes are enigmatic. We reproduce them in their entirety:

> Mr. McBride reported Mr. Clark's resignation to the Board.
>
> Mr. McBride then covered the faculty meeting of December 1st, assemblies of December 2nd and result of same following Mr. Clark's resignation.
>
> Upon a motion by Mr. Gordon and seconded by Mr. Metcalfe it was unanimously agreed to accept Mr. Clark's resignation.
>
> Possible replacement for Mr. Clark and means of Board interviewing same was discussed at some length and it was felt that Mr. McBride ask several potential candidates to meet with the Board.
>
> It was further felt that it would be best that the Board not know Mr. McBride's preference at the time of the Board interview.
>
> Mr. McBride then brought to our attention the splendid co-operation he has received from the faculty since Mr. Clark's departure. (12/2/52)

The meeting lasted from 7:35 P.M. to 8:20 P.M. The High School counselor assumed the duties as acting Principal.

On January 25th, two candidates from out of the local community and the state were brought in for interviews for the High School principalship. The candidate from Colorado, Mr. Macon was offered the position.

As one reads along, page after page, in Board minutes, images of other, more contemporary school boards come to mind, as do images of other small groups and their dynamics. The "strong personality" or the "strong board member" conveys in the schoolman's common jargon the first level of meaning. The constellation of elements includes:

1) outspokenness
2) often in opposition to the superintendent
3) strong community base or voter support
4) a willingness to entertain confrontation and conflict
5) intelligent and articulate
6) needs for power or dominance
7) major commitment of time and effort

These events came to a head on February 25, 1953:

> After considerable discussion, a motion was made by Mr. Metcalfe and seconded by Mr. Quigley that Mr. McBride be offered a contract at $9,000.00 per year for three years. Messers Trotter, Gordon, Quigley, Metcalfe, and Mrs. Cooper voting for and Mr. Lewis voting against this motion.
>
> Upon a motion by Mr. Gordon and seconded by Mr. Lewis it was unanimously agreed that the Superintendent give study and make recommendations for administrative assistance, so that the Superintendent may be freed for closer relation with the Board on education program. (2/25/53)

The minutes were followed by a one page formal contract, the first ever enacted in the minutes. It was prefaced by reference to the appropriate sections of Midwest State School Laws. But even more significant for our analysis of the "strong school board member" is a two page bill of particulars in which Mr. Lewis presented his rationale for dissenting on the new contract. It was a broad scale attack. We reproduce it in its entirety. The first part seems almost a preamble or set of assumptions:

The American Association of School Administrators in booklet "What to pay your Superintendent" say: 'The Board of Education is responsible for ascertaining as accurately as possible the degree of success attained by the executive over a period of time.'

Evaluative Criteria says: 'The Superintendent of Schools keepts the Board of Control informed through periodic reports, regarding the schools objectives, achievements, needs and plans for the future.'

The School Board Member in Action booklet of the AASA says: 'The Board should discuss the educational problems. It should not limit itself to business and financial affairs. Often board members do not feel themselves qualified to talk about educational policy. So far as technical detail is concerned this is generally true. On the other hand, the aims and purposes of what schools are doing and the human results they are accomplishing are things which any intelligent American is competent to judge. One of the superintendent's important tasks is to keep board members informed about such things. In times when school business problems are so pressing, care must be taken that the board's trusteeship for educational progress does not go by default.'

Davies and Hosler in "The Challenge of School Board Membership" state; (in the chapter - Follow the School Program): 'Rely on your superintendent as your professional advisor and co-ordinator for the enterprise. His regular reports to the board are indispensable.'

They further state: 'There is something wrong when boards meet two or three times a month and meetings last from 8 to 8:30 to midnight or after. There is no need for making such demands upon the valuable time of board members in a well organized and well run school system.'

The AASA School Boards in Action sums up the responsibility of the local board in relation to the educational program in three sentences:

1. The board should know the characteristics of a good educational program.
2. The board should know what is going on in the local schools and in the best school systems in other parts of the country.

> 3. The board should constantly be evaluating and improving the work of the schools.
>
> They further state: 'The function of control of the educational program should never be delegated by the Board of Education.'

The next entry moves the broad preamble into the middle of Mr. Lewis' personal perspective on the local situation:

> In striving to introduce education matters into Board actions, I two years ago, after considerable study in addition to attending the National Convention of the American Association of School Administrators, as Board representative, presented a program of goals for our school system. Several of these goals were adopted in May, 1951, but no reports on progress on same has been made and no further discussion of additional recommendations have been made. Last year I agreed to the increase to $7,500.00 for the Superintendent, only on the understanding that administrative reports outlining progress during the 1951-1952 school year and plans for additional progress during the 1952-1953 school year be presented.

Those goals included three items: building programs, public relations program and information regarding testing, guidance, and teacher/administrative conferences. (5/29/51) The comments by Mr. Lewis continue:

> It was agreed by the Board that these reports be made at the May, 1952 meeting, but so far no reports have been presented.
>
> An analysis of the preceeding comments leads me to conclude:
>
> 1. That the Superintendent has not kept the Board regularly informed regarding the educational program and because of this our Board has not fulfilled its responsibility in relation to the educational program.

2. That my wishes for education information are not new, as they were expressed in my report of 2 years ago and repeated in my request for administrative reports last year.
3. That a system of regular reports to the Board, permitting constant evaluation of our educational achievements be made a part of Board procedure, so that decisions regarding administrative results of our school may be made on facts and not on opinions or feelings.
4. That it is necessary for the Board to make certain that the formulation of the educational program is a democratic process involving the Board of educating interested laymen, the Superintendent of schools, the professional staff and student council (as recommended by the AASA).

In view of the above conclusions, I cannot agree to increased expenditures for our chief administrative office until such time as I am assured that this increase in expenditure will bring increased benefits to the boys and girls of our district.

Some of the questions which I feel should be continuously answerable to insure a proper evaluation of our educational program include:

What are the statistics on Drop-outs? (from challenge of school-board membership)

Are there clearly established and recognized channels of communication between individuals and groups? Between Board, administration, teachers, custodians, pupils, parents? (the challenge of school board membership)

How adequate are provisions for pupil participation in school government? (evaluative criteria)

Is the Superintendent accepting the personal responsibility for planning and co-ordinating the school's public relations program? (as suggested in the AASA's year book on Public Relations for America's Schools)

How adequate is the general organization of the pupil activity program? (evaluative criteria)

> Is the formulation of the educational program a democratic process involving the Board of education, interested laymen, the Superintendent of schools, the professional staff and student council?
>
> Do our courses of study draw attention to moral and spiritual values? (as suggested in Moral and Spiritual Values in the Public Schools)
>
> What efforts are being made to provide wider counselling? (evaluative criteria)
>
> Is our library being used effectively? (evaluative criteria)
>
> How adequate are provisions for follow-up service or guidance? (evaluative criteria)
>
> How extensive is the information concerning scholastic progress? (evaluative criteria)

This then extends the meaning of our conception of "the strong school board member", an item of considerable importance in the analysis of the history of the Milford School District, and, presumably of any school district.

5.7 The Continuing Story of Public Education in Milford

One of the appeals of radio and television "soap operas" is that they do capture some of the realities of stability and change in the everyday lives of people. New variations on old themes appear, and old variations on old themes remain. On occasion the Board minutes in several successive items suggests the Board also captures the realities of stability and change in the everyday lives of school people. After the litany of approval of minutes, presentation of the treasurer's report, reading of the bills, the next four items from August 14th were these:

> Mr. McBride mentioned that the first general faculty meeting would be held at 9:30 a.m. Monday, September

> 4th, suggesting that the Board be present if possible and also that invitations be sent to presidents of the various organizations affiliated with our schools.
>
> Mr. McBride mentioned some disciplinary problems to be taken up at the beginning of school, such as excessive smoking on school ground, loitering in automobiles in front of the school, etc.
>
> After an extensive discussion Mr. Gordon moved to pass the following resolution:
>
> > 'Actions and practices of a very small minority in the past have made it necessary for the Board of Education to pass a resolution directing the administrators and faculty to take whatever steps necessary to provide a wholesome, orderly process of education. The Board fully recognizes the need for full co-operation of the student body in providing this process.'
>
> The motion was seconded by Mr. Lewis and carried.
>
> A discussion was held concerning entrance of non-resident students living in another high school district. It seemed to be the consensus of opinion that the Board follow the Midwest State School Laws, Section 10340, concerning admittance.
>
> It was decided that the transportation contract between the Board of Education and the Suburban Bus Company be signed after the addition of the word "average" in the phrase "with a guarantee of a minimum of," paying the bus company on a monthly basis. (8/14/50)

Two weeks later the Board held its now "regular monthly meeing of the Milford School Board for the discussion of Educational Program and Procedure." Since a quorum was not present, the three members and Mr. McBride attended the meeting of the "Lay Committee." That Committee was active with other citizen's groups and was looking into policies, rules and regulations for Board and students. The Board also looked to them for suggestions about school site recommendations. The composition of the Lay Advisory Committee occurred by each director nominating five citizens. Noblesse oblige occurred and the thirty individuals were unanimously appointed. (6/13/51)

The education of Black students took a movel twist which raised problems that had been settled for several decades. In the Superintendent's Report the agenda item stated:

> Negro High School students. City has announced that they will not receive any students from County. Have had meeting and Mr. Cunningham is to confer with Mr. Ives. (8/15/51)

The Board minutes stated it this way:

> A lengthy discussion was held concerning the admittance of Negro students to Big City Schools and further action was withheld pending an attempt to get Big City Board to accept students from the county. Other possible places for sending these students were to be investigated by Mr. McBride. (8/15/51)

Almost a year later (5/14/52) this problem was "solved" according to a note in the Superintendent's Report:

> Aubuchan Woods will accept Negro pupils for high school next year; trying to work out transportation with two other neighboring schools. (Item #9) (5/14/52)

The Board minutes phrased it this way:

> The situation on colored students was discussed with the understanding that they would be accepted at Aubuchan Woods Schools and that transportation would have to be looked into. (5/14/52)

The special problems of being a minority child with a handicap appear vividly:

> Mr. McBride reported on a five year old deaf Negro child whose parents want to send him to Big City Turner School unit for the deaf. It was agreed to

> try to help them as much as possible through a welfare agency but that from an educational standpoint the Board could do nothing. (9/12/51)

On March 12, 1952:

> Upon a motion by Mr. Quigley and seconded by Mr. Lewis, it was unanimously agreed to allow Mrs. Porter $300.00 toward the tuition on her youngster at the Institute for the Deaf.

Mr. McBride made continuing reports on buildings and public relations from several meetings he had been attending. Federal Aid continued to be sought:

> On a motion by Mr. Lewis and seconded by Mr. Gordon and a unanimous vote the Board formally ordered another application to be filed for Construction Aid under Public Law 815. (10/3/51)

The formal resolution was adopted on (10/22/51).

The 1951 calendar year ended with continuing discussions of serveral more school sites and visions of soaring expansion. On subdivision development described:

250 homes now ----------------- 1951
250-300 more by end of year --- 1952
total of 800-900 by ----------- 1953

And for the first time a note was made to:

> .... pay our pro-rate share to the Co-operating Schools.

a county wide organization in audio-visual and other activities. A group that was to expand considerably in later years.

Bonds and tax issues moved along accordingly.

The expanding population continued to have a variety of effects beyond the immediate crowding of buildings and classrooms. It meant long discussions:

> "After considerable discussions it was decided to investigate three possibilities for expanding our room for next Fall, namely: rentals, temporary arrangements in present cafeterias, or permanent structures that could have future use as multi-purpose rooms at both Milford Elementary and Marquette Schools." (3/12/52)

In the Spring of 1952, while the community voted for increases in levies for the incidental fund and the teachers' fund, the citizens voted against (470 to 556) free transportation for pupils.

Pupil attendance and promotion policies of several sorts were formalized in the Spring of 1952:

> "Further action on non-resident elementary students was tabled until the June meeting." (5/14/52)

This was after a vote in April that denied admission to a pupil from Morrison School District because of overcrowding:

> The situation on colored students was discussed with the understanding that they would be accepted at Aubuchon Woods Schools and that transportation would have to be looked into. (5/14/52)
>
> It was moved by Mr. Lewis and seconded by Mr. Quigley that the Board adopt the policy that children must be five years old by the first of January in order to enter Kindergarten and six years old by the first of January in order to enter the first grade, which carried with the Board's unanimous approval. (5/14/52)
>
> A letter from Dr. Davidson regarding equivalency certificates was brought to the Board's attention. After

> considerable discussion it was decided to grant diplomas on the basis of passing the USAFI test to those who have had one year's satisfactory record at Milford High School and on the basis of passing the GED tests to those who have had 2½ years satisfactory record at Milford High School. (5/28/52)

> The promotion policy was discussed at length. It was moved by Mr. Lewis, seconded by Mr. Quigley and unanimously agreed that Mr. McBride ask the classroom teachers organization whether it is their opinion that a percentage of students feel that work is unnecessary for promotion. (5/28/52)

The 1951-52 year closed in June with several items which suggest that transition periods, are in the eyes of the beholder more than the reality of the world of schools and school boards:

1. A survery of special education needs within and between neighboring districts received attention.
2. The High School Principal Mr. Green resigned and was replaced in two weeks by Mr. Clark.
3. "New regulations on Federal Aid were read by Mr. McBride." (6/25/52)

The major point, though, is that Milford is in transition. Marquette has been annexed. New central office positions have been created. A strong Board member, Mr. Lewis, has appeared; he is traveling to professional meetings, reading educational documents, and crowding the Board and the Superintendent. Finally, population increases in the form of post was suburban subdivisions are looming as a tidal wave on the horizon.

6. THE DECADE OF RAPID GROWTH AND EXPANSION: 1952-1961

6.1 Introduction

It seems appropriate to introduce the decade of rapid growth with a minute from the Board's record indicating the kinds of problems and their attendant resolutions which occur in times of rapid population expansion:

> After two informal get-togethers involving the two whole evenings of June 16th and June 30th with members of the Milford Baptist Church committee, it was decided to enter into lease agreement with said Baptist Church and the following resolution was passed:
>
> Resolved: That the Milford Board of Education in the name of the School District of Milford enter into lease agreement with The Milford Baptist Church, A Corporation, for the purpose of using a portion of a brick building, known as the Milford Baptist Church Educational Building, for school rooms. (7/16/52)

Concomitant with the special arrangements for temporary housing were the plans for the new schools which were buing built. These plans ran into delays because of federal regulations. A special meeting of the Board was called for July 23rd and a resolution was passed:

> The need for meeting special federal requirements before proceeding with our opening of bids was brought to the Boards' attention by Mr. McBride. It was agreed to recall bids and postpone the bid opening date upon advice of a letter of July 16, 1952 from the Federal Security Agency on Project No. 1085, concerning Federal Fund Reserve for final approval of said project and from telephone conversation with Mr. Frank Olden, District Engineer of Community Facilities Service and Housing Home Finance Agency. It was moved by Mr.Metcalfe that all previous plans and commitments be held in abeyance so that we may fully comply with federal regulations. Motion was seconded by Mr. Lewis and unanimously adopted.
> (7/23/52)

A notice went to the architect, to the newspapers and to the bidders. Further contact with the federal authorities for specifications also accurred and word was sent also to the State Department of Education.

Discussions were held on transporting Black High School students to a neighboring county district and discussions continued on a "visiting teacher for shut-in children." Tuition help, $300.00, was paid for a crippled child to attend a special school in Metropolitan City. The usual kinds of items arose for cafeteria, building maintenance (termite control!), building insurance, replacing teachers who resigned, resolving janitorial problems, and consideration of county wide instructional TV which was coming on the scene. Additional rooms for kindergarten children were rented from another church, near the Milford Elementary School. Arrangements continued on additional property for schools in areas where builders were developing large tracts for new houses.

If a generalization is needed at this point we are once again reminded of the huge number of "logistical decisions" which pass in review by the school board. These are preceded and followed by countless telephone calls, discussions, and meetings. The volume of this kind of interaction seems both to require certain kinds of personality structures in central office staff and in Board members and, in turn, takes its toll on those same individuals.

A mode of thinking, about which we commented earlier, reappeared in two instances. The superintendent reported on teacher pupil ratios of districts comparable in size and economic level to the Milford community. Similarly:

> A salary schedule for Suburban County was brought to our attention and same indicated that we are in a fairly good position. (10/29/52)

The first item seemed to precipitate the hiring of a variety of additional teachers, both full and part time as the Milford average of 25 pupils to one teacher was higher than most of the districts surveyed. A similar survey on birthday cut off dates for kindergarten children was conducted in January. This comparative mode of thinking, "How are we doing vis-a-vis our neighbors?", seems important politically and normatively (ethically). It contrasts with more idealized conceptions of what "ought-to-be" and more scientific or technical conceptions of "research data show..." As a conceptual issue we take that up at several points in our theoretical analyses.

Finally, we might end this introduction to the new decade with a note back to some of the descriptive factual data included in our analysis of the strong board member. Mr. Lewis' attack on Mr. McBride came in February of the 1952-53 school year. One period flows easily, and sometimes not so easily, into another. Time segments are artifactual and often more in the eyes of the observer than in the eyes of the day to day participants. At the next meeting, March 17, 1953, the Board voted to attach Mr. Lewis' comments to the minutes. Other large and small items continued to appear: a change order for "sand painting the walls of the new Grant School" was issued. And:

> It was agreed that we lay plans to build a new high school unit rather than to add to the present unit. (3/17/53)

One sentence for a large major decision.

6.2 Growth and Modernization Continue

We do not know if there is any broad national consensus on the strategy and tactics of the Board and Superintendent regarding the buying and selling of property for school sites. If the Milford experience is at all typical it seems to come down to that great American custom once known as horse trading. Foresight and insight, bargaining and negotiating skills, and more than a bit of entreprenurial zest for the game seem to be key ingredients. Earlier, we recounted bits and pieces of the drawn out discussions in which the Board finally got the Quaker Company to trade property but also contribute eighteen thousand dollars toward the building of a new two room frame building with basement for the Attucks School. The Company needed the land for expansion; presumably it had considerable value to them. Even earlier we have seen the give and take regarding lots next to the present schools and acreage for the Milford Elementary School in 1930. The arrival of the post WWII big subdivision developers shifted both the stakes and the nature of the game. The Board's gambit is reflected in the minutes:

> In a letter from the Suburban County Planning Commission it was brought to the attention of the Board that a meeting was to be held on Tuesday, April 21 at 8:00 P.M., on a petition by Waller-Evans, to change the zoning from 7500 square feet to 6000 square feet, on a 165 acre tract on Richmond Road near Downing Drive.

If our arithmetic is even approximately correct that's a 20% decrease in size of the lots and opens the potential for a 20% increase in the number of homes at a cost of less than 3% of the total parcel of land. The Board seems to have appreciated the significance of this for the next entry in the minutes stated:

> It was agreed by the Board to have Mr. Udall contact Waller-Evans and tell them that the Board will not oppose this change in zoning, if they make provision for a suitable five acre site for a school building at no cost. (4/9/53)

The Company seemed to enter the spirit of the discussions for a week later at the regular monthly business meeting of the Board it was noted among discussions of several pieces of property for separate new schools:

> Upon a motion by Mr. Metcalfe and seconded by Mr. Youngman, offer number one from the Waller-Evans Realty Company as to site in the Richmond Road and Downing Drive vicinity should be accepted, which would be a 500 foot frontage site to be graded level, built up so that there would be no overflow at cost not to exceed $12,000.00 to the school district.
> (4/15/53)

This seemed in keeping with amounts being quoted for other sites. A month later the developer countered with an offer to sell the Board five acres of "developed land" for $27,000. The Board called this "unreasonable." The developers returned for a brief private conference and offered $15,000 as a figure. The Board accepted.

But modernization doesn't happen all of a piece, strong Board members don't disappear early, nor is conflict ever settled once and for all. At the April 9th meeting two new Board members were elected and sworn in. It was a close election with both incumbents loosing:

Trotter	1,123
Gordon	1,047
Youngman	1,248
Dawson	1,236

The minutes contain these items as well:

> Mr. McBride, as Superintendent, made the statement that if there was anything that the Board particularly wished him to do, he would be glad to cooperate.

The next two items seemed to bear on several key issues which continued to provide an undercurrent to the deliberations:

> Mr. Lewis recommended a special meeting to be held on the functions of the school board and the superintendent to have a more democratic procedure in the relationship of the two, as brought out in "School Boards in Action."
>
> It was agreed that three copies of the following school publications should be purchased to exchange among the Board members:
>
> The School Board Journal
> The School Executive (4/9/53)

A touch of "country" still seemed to remain:

> Upon a motion by Mr. Randle and seconded by Mrs. Carrington, it was unanimously agreed to pay the bill for material for pants for band uniforms made by the Home Economics Department. (4/15/53)

Curriculum and instruction initiatives appeared from within the system:

> Mr. McBride said that Mr. Unger was anxious that one of our elementary schools should become a pilot school for a new course of study coming out for elementary schools. This was mutually agreed upon. (4/15/53)

Technology also continued to win out:

> It was agreed that bids should be obtained for a power lawn mower. (4/15/53)

Accord between the Board and the student body seemed to continue:

> ...it was unamimously agreed to accept the rules set up for the Junior-Senior Prom...and to compliment the students on their rules and hope that they would make this a congenial affair and encourage all guests to remain until the end of the evening. (4/15/53)

School boundaries are always items for debate and contention. Milford's new school, the Grant, is located in the middle of the district, between Marquette and Milford Elementary. The Board handled it this way:

> The next order of business was to determine the boundaries of the Grant School.
>
> Mr. Unger, Mr. Ulrich, Miss Idler were all present and presented 15 possibilities for the consideration of the Board.
>
> After much consideration, Plan #2E was adopted upon a motion of Mr. Randle and seconded by Mr. Dawson.
>
> Boundaries in Plan #2E consist of Richmond Road on West, Doleman on South, Carleton Boulevard to cemetery East, cemetary North along railroad. (5/13/53)

The Board moved forward with the Bond issue for building new schools:

> Proposition
>
> To authorize the Board of Education of the School District of Milford, Suburban County, Midwest State to incur an indebtedness of said District in the amount of Eight Hundred Thousand Dollars ($800,000) for the purpose of purchasing school house sites, erecting school houses and furnishing the same, and building additions to or repairing old buildings, in said District, and to evidence such indebtedness by the issuance of bonds of said District in said amount for said purpose. (6/24/53)

6.3 The Potency of the Outside Survey--Or the Strong Board Member Revisited

Setting the Stage

The educational scene in the 1970's and '80's seems strewn with reports, surveys, and evaluations. Considerable disagreement exists on their impact, usefulness, and purposes--latent or manifest. Amidst the growth and expansion of the district, the pressures to modernize, the arrival of two new Board members, Dawson and Willman, and the presence of "the strong Board member", the idea of a school survey arose. Three interrelated items appeared in the minutes:

> Mr. Lewis suggested that a possible survey of the school district should be made.

> Upon a motion by Mr. Dawson and seconded by Mr. Youngman it was decided to write to several universities who might make a complete comprehensive survey of the District, so the School Board may decide which one will be best for their purpose.
>
> Several universities and colleges mentioned were Columbia, George Peabody, Chicago, and Central State University. (5/6/53)

Amongst items regarding custodians, publicity for bond issues, and motions to pay bills, an item of concern regarding the administrative and organizational plans occurred:

> Also in the meeting of May 27, we should talk over and discuss a working relationship for the general improvement of the school system as follows: 1) the definition and explanation of areas of responsibilities of the principals of the high school and elementary schools, of the superintendent of schools and his relationship with the Board of Education, the teachers with each other, the principal and superintendent with the Board, and, 2) what should the administration do? (5/13/53)

Reports were presented by the superintendent, director of elementary education and the high school principal. All these were to be attached to the minutes. None was. A special meeting was called for June 8th to continue the discussion.

In the June 8th meeting examples of surveys, correspondence with several institutions, and a decision to write Dr. Thoelke from Central State University occurred. Several specific ideas regarding shortening board meetings, indexing the minutes, developing a "follow up date file", and semi annual reports to the Board were raised and discussed:

> It was decided to delay any further action on the subject until a well-laid plan is worked out, possibly by September. (6/10/53)

Amidst a huge agenda of building plans, contracts, building of temporary facilities, and conflict in firing cafeteria staff in the Summer of 1953, the Board interviewed professors from three universities regarding the survey. They settled on Dr. Thoelke of Central State University. His staff had completed "sixty surveys in the last five years." The minutes accented several items:

> Three general phases of the survey were emphasized:
>
> 1) Every survey is based on a careful analytical study of the community.
> 2) ...a representative lay group to be used in an advisory capacity.
> 3) ...emphasize the future...
>
> This type of survey is a basic instrument in policy, a foundation for procedure, and there is no standard to check against without a survey....
>
> Dr. Thoelke further stated that the survey does not evaluate personnel, but they advise the superintendent on personnel records; the length of time covered by the survey is usually a complete school year in order to see the whole span; and within the survey they do follow-up work on graduates.
> (7/6/53)

The cost is $2.00/pupil. Fifty copies of a report are submitted. The staff is available for further consultation.

The Survey Proceeds

After the decision on August 3rd, several ongoing activities e.g. evaluation of results of education, and groups e.g. the Lay Advisory Group, were integrated into the survey plans and procedures. One of Dr. Thoelke's pamphlets and several references in his bibliography were ordered by the District. Some jockeying about over citizen membership on the survey team occurred; each Board member was to contribute names. Visits by the survey team began in the Fall with some conflict, "Some of these people were not very courteous to our personnel." (12/16/53)

In early January (1/4/54) the survey team made a progress report to the Board. Several items were stressed:

1) Involvement of citizens and citizen groups,

2) Teacher survey, its importance for further inquiry, further teacher involvement,

3) Completed report on buildings; including a suggestion for early purchase of a high school building site: 20-30 acres and close to center of district,

4) Solicitation of Board questions: seven were listed, e.g. board-administration relations, broad aims, school board activity, student progress, and advances in moral and spiritual education,

5) Development of teacher committees--supplies and budget priorities, text book selection and salary schedules, and teacher reports to Board on outstanding work and new ideas,

6) Leaving administrative budget detail to administration so that "the Board could have more time for the more essential items."

A seven page, single spaced report on the high school placed it near the median of some 60 high schools surveyed by the team. Instructional space for science, home economics, and industrial arts was limited. Overall acreage also was limited, as were a variety of overall service provisions. The expanding district needed very much a new high school.

Shortly after the meeting the Board held its regular meeting and a special meeting (January 13 and January 16), among the items were concerns over the selection of the teacher salary committee. The superintendent was rebuked by the Board for "selecting" rather than "electing" teachers to the committee:

> The salary schedule of the teachers was discussed at great length. Two main factors were involved--the democratic selection of the teachers' committee on salaries, and the suggested program of teacher evaluation. (1/16/54)

Upon a unanimous vote the following letter went to the teachers:

> The Board wishes to go on record in favor of increased salary schedules. The Board feels that the committee drawing up a salary schedule should be elected rather than selected. The Board would like to suggest that a schedule be worked up on an evaluation system to insure greater opportunities and benefits for individual teachers and the school district. This would also assist the Board in obtaining the necessary 2/3 support for increased teacher fund levies. (1/16/54)

In short, and in retrospect it seems a complex political statement recognizing four groups: Board, teachers, administration, and citizens whose interests overlap only partially. It suggests also a tying together of issues--salary and evaluation which many teachers' groups might oppose. It seems to have a carrot type appeal to the teachers--teacher election to the committee and 2/3 majorities and a stick to the administration. It unites an earlier theme, the strong board member, with the current theme, the outside survey, toward a larger synthesis, political model for understanding innovation and change in schooling. Mr. Lewis, with Mrs. Cooper's help lead the attack at the prior meeting. Mrs. Cooper made the motion here. New business, that evening, concerned a budget committee and teacher involvement.

In the January 27 meeting, the plot took an interesting turn. The teachers from all the elementary schools sent letters to the Board:

> All of these letters stated that the teachers were satisfied with the person who was representing them on the salary committee, and they were opposed to teacher evaluation for salary purposes. They were in favor of the salary schedule as presented. (1/27/54)

After an initial split vote, a detailed discussion occurred and the Board unanimously passed a motion accepting the scale as presented.

New business at the meeting included reports of two science teachers, with demonstrations of laboratory experiments by two students. The Board continued to work through the recommendations of the outside survey committee.

The Board kept after the knotty problems of governance and administration in the schools with a special meeting of the Board and a long discussion on "the suggested division of Powers and Duties of the School Board, the Superintendent, the Principal, and the Teachers" (2/5/54). The basis was a University Bulletin article "Suggestions for Procedures for Midwest State Boards of Education." Some 15 points, from publicity to special education were raised.

At a busy regular meeting, after a series of passed motions on salaries and contracts for principals and central office personnel, the Board, on a split [illegible]-4 vote, did not recommend a new three year contract for the superintendent, whose current contract had two years yet to run. The gauntlet was thrown.

Another ten items were discussed on February 24 as part of the continuing concerns over "Powers and Duties." The intertwining of our themes continued:

> Mr. Lewis thinks we should go ahead with the school policy until we get the recommendations of the University survey; working on the ones that are necessary, then taking up the ones that the survey brings up. (2/24/54)

For the first time, a formal written report by the Superintendent on the AASA meetings was submitted and incorporated into the minutes. In addition, mimeographed copies of key speeches were included also.

In March, the Superintendent submitted a detailed four page public relations program. The Board continued to make suggestions on the format and quality of production of the Our Schools newsleter. Reports were filed by the high school principal on the secondary principals' meeting, by the elementary director on the remedial reading programs, and by Midwest University on the guidance program (2/24/54).

The Citizens' survey took on an explicit political quality because the Chairman of the committee had his name and post printed on campaign literature. Henceforth all campaign literature should be submitted to Dr. Thoelke at Central State University.

When Consultants Conflict

But Professor Thoelke was not the only consultant brought into the district. In May, Mr. Murphy of Lloyd, Lloyd, and Murphy, a prestigious firm of educators and consulting engineers from the East appeared before the Board, presented his credentials, and made the following comments:

> He suggested a high school of at least three units to be used, for instance music, gym, library, and lunch room. In this way the noise will not disturb the other classes which are in session. He thinks that our present high school site is too small, and that it should never be used for a senior high school. A track of land of at least 40 acres would be the smallest a community of our size should consider.
>
> The customary fee for consulting work is ½ to 1% of the cost of the construction of the building....A minimum charge of $1,000 would be made to draw up the program of requirements. This would take several months.
> (5/19/54)

The Board thanked Mr. Murphy and indicated no action would be taken at the moment, "but will think it over." At the regular meeting five days later, the Board, at the recommendation of the Superintendent, voted to hire Lloyd, Lloyd, and Murphy as consulting engineers for the porposed new high school.

At the regular June meeting, a letter from Dr. Thoelke "that the report on the survey would be available the week of July 12" (6/9/54). Also, at that meeting a ten page, single spaced revision of "Policies, rules and regulations" written by the superintendent, and distributed earlier in April:

> ...were read and discussed in detail. They were not adopted, but will be presented again as corrected.
> (6/23/54)

Lengthy mimeographed reports of substantive school issues as raised in National meetings and prepared by one or another of the administrators continued to be presented to the Board, discussed and bound with the minutes. These differences, which started in the transition period, seemed to be impelling the district toward modernity.

Mr. Murphy of Lloyd, Lloyd, and Murphy returned for a special session of the Board. He and his colleagues were urging the immediate hiring of an architect, additional sites for a high school and three elementary schools be sought immediately, and the proposed high school site be used for a junior high school. Mr. Murphy urged a common questionnaire to go to all architect applicants. A six page "tentative outline of spaces" was provided. He also recommended that the architect, when selected, and several members of the staff might visit two communities in the south eastern part of the country:

> ...as these areas have a number of most interesting high school buildings.
> (6/30/54)

In the accompanying letter Mr. Murphy indicated he had read the Thoelke Report, supported the need for the three elementary schools and argued for the conversion of the present high school into a junior high and the development of the recently acquired property into a new junior high. Further he argued for a third junior high in the western part of the district.[49] He argues also for anticipating housing developments and buying ahead of them because it was considerably cheaper.

Appearing, almost as counterpoint to the modernization and growth frenzy was a minute regarding a twenty acre tract of recently purchased land which someone had sown in wheat:

> The wheat on this same property is to be harvested and the school district will be paid $10 per acre as agreed with the previous owner. (6/30/54)

In addition, an old barn on the property was to be torn down.

Reports from each high school department were filed regarding space and equipment needs in a high school of 1500 students.

The Potent Report Arrives

On July 14, 1954, the Board Room was jammed with 50 patrons concerned about a newspaper article which stated:

> lack of effective leadership by the Milford Superintendent, survey charged.

A variety of aspects appeared. The Board was split 4-2 on much of the voting. At least one member of the Board and the Superintendent had not received a copy of the report, even though City Press, the local newspaper, had a copy and was allegedly quoting from it. The Board President, Mr. Lewis, had released it to a reporter. He neither authorized the story nor did he "think it was a completely false one", nor had he done anything to retract it. Mr. McBride was represented by a lawyer. At least two members of the Board had been asked about giving it to the papers. A motion was made and seconded that Mr. Lewis, the School Board President, be asked to resign. It failed 2 to 3, with the President not voting. A Board member, Mr. Quigley, wrote Professor Thoelke criticizing the report. In acathing tones, three typed pages, a former principal of Milford High School did also. As Dr. Thoelke was on sabbatical and out of town the acting head of the Bureau responded. On July 28th the Board argued about the Report's distribution, voted 4-2 to circulate it, and sent copies to several University Education Department Chairmen as well as State Education Officials. In addition the Board voted to have Dr. Thoelke appear before the Board, to invite Mr. Murphy of Lloyd, Lloyd, and Murphy to attend, and to keep a record of the distribution of all copies of the report.

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[49] To anticipate our story, these changes did occur. The third junior high was never constructed.

A lost letter (dated June 28) from Thoelke to Lewis finally found its way into the minutes of August 11th. The key paragraph underlying at least some of the misunderstanding was this:

> It is customary for the Board to accept the report by official action at the first regular meeting subsequent to the receipt of the report. This acceptance does not imply endorsement or adoption of the recommendations contained therein. I see no harm in presenting the report to the papers previous to the July 14 meeting with the request that they withhold publicity until such time as the Board has officially accepted the report. This will give them time to study the report and will also insure that release is simultaneous. (6/28 from 7/11 minutes)

The debate that evening involved also a letter from Dr. Thoelke declining to attend because of his sabbatical. He suggested the collation of reactions and a response from a staff member of the Center for Field Studies. Mr. Murphy indicated he would be happy to attend.

The Vice President of the Boosters Club presented a petition signed by 1066 residents of the district stating:

> ...our unqualified endorsement and appreciation for the leadership of Superintendent F. N. McBride in the educational and administrative operation of our school system...

The last paragraph urged "constructive publicity", "close cooperation", and "harmonious operation" in the interests of the "welfare of our school children." The Board voted unanimously to make that district policy. The Superintendent indicated areas of advancement and improvement neglected in the survey: educational planning committee, guidance study, study in elementary curriculum, evaluation programs, publicity programs. Further discussion by administrators, teachers, and the Board was also approved unanimously. A motion was also made to tape record discussion at the next meeting "so that misunderstandings do not arise over comments made."

Reports as Political Ammunition

Warfare metaphors and images in discussions of schooling are viewed as inappropriate by some individuals when one's first concern is the "boys and girls of Milford" or "America's children." But reading minutes of Board meetings conjures up varied reactions. Item Number 632 from September 29, 1954 is offered for the reader:

> Mr. Lewis read a statement to the Board about the manner in which the Superintendent was discussing the Central State University Survey at various public and teacher meetings. President Lewis read the following recommendations to the Board:
>
> I, therefor recommend that this Board of Education direct the Superintendent to prepare for Board approval at the next regular meeting of this Board, information for distribution to the Teachers and to the public in which he recognizes that:

1) The Board of Education is responsible for evaluating administrative results,

2) That a comprehensive survey is a recognized means of assisting a Board in its evaluation of administrative results.

3) That the Central State University Survey was an unbiased survey of a comprehensive nature.

4) That the purpose of the Midwest University Survey was not that of a comprehensive one and cannot therefore be compared with the Central State University Survey.

5) That we have had excessive teacher turnover as indicated by the Central State University Survey.

6) That there has been an unusually brief tenure of high school principals over a nine year period.

7) That the problem of drop-outs is a serious one in the secondary school and that some steps must be taken to improve the situation.

8) That there must be more faculty involvement in guidance and that there be a follow-up of drop-outs and graduates as recommended by the teacher committee.

9) That the administration must become much more effective in educational leadership as recommended by the Central State University Survey.

10) That the Superintendent will accept and administer all policies adopted by the Board of Education including all that may be developed as the result of the recommendations made in the Central State University Survey.

The gauntlet was thrown again. It was moved and seconded to adopt the recommendations. A counter move to adjourn, because the meeting was running past agreed upon times, was made. It was defeated. The debate went on for over an hour. The discussion terminated with a unanimous vote:

> That the Board of Education and the Superintendent recognize the Central State University Survey as an evaluation of the Milford School District and will study it with an open mind.
> (9/29/54)

The meeting adjourned at 12:30 A. M.

At the next meeting, a counter attack appeared in the form of letters from teaching faculty of each of the elementary schools. They expressed approval and support of Mr. McBride and his administration. One was:

> ...expressing concern over a rumor that the Board of Education contemplated removing Mr. McBride. Confidence and support of the Superintendent was expressed. (10/13/54)

No word came from Milford High School.

The debate continued and finally ended with a motion that no action would be taken until after the April election. In the interim everyone would work together to propare a blueprint for the future of the Milford School District. Two weeks later the majority changed its mind and on a 4-2 vote they rescinded the vote on the clause:

> ...that no action will be taken on Mr. McBride's status until after the April election. (10/27/54)

The reason was that the motion was a possible violation of their oath of office. The Board stayed in executive session and the next motion was made by Mr. Krist, seconded by Mr. Youngman:

> Whereas Mr. F. N. McBride has failed to fulfill his obligations as Superintendent and Administrator of the Milford School District, Suburban County, and
>
> Whereas F. N. McBride has grossly exceeded his legal authority as Superintendent and Administrator of said School District
>
> Now it shall be resolved, that this Board of Directors shall consider the contract between F. N. McBride and the Milford School District, as terminated forthwith and that no further warrants payable to F. N. McBride be issued against the Treasurer of the Milford School District. (10/21/54)

The motion passed with a 4-2 majority. Concerns about the legality of the vote were raised. The next motion recommended the high school principal be made acting superintendent. The Superintendent was brought in and notified. He indicated he had a legal contract which ran until July 1, 1956. He wanted a list of charges and a public hearing. The Board voted no, 4-2. If one has any doubts as to the severity of emotion and feeling the next minutes give an exclamation point to the affair:

> Mr. Lewis asked Mr. McBride to leave the Board room and he refused to leave.
>
> Mr. Krist stated that if Mr. McBride would not leave of his own accord, he would call the police and have him moved forcibly.
>
> Mr. Krist then called the police and Mr. McBride decided to leave of his own free will before the police arrived.
>
> Mr. Lewis then asked Mr. McBride for the keys to the building and he turned the keys over to Mr. Lewis. (10/27/54)

The high school principal, Dr. Macon, was brought in and offered the Acting Superintendent position. He wanted a day to think about it. A press release was prepared. The votes continued 4-2. The press release itemized 15 specifics, ranging across failure to comply with Board Rules and Regulations, permiting out of district pupils to attend, failure to submit annual reports, lack of response and action over principal turnover, teacher turnover, and pupil drop outs, and items regarding leadership raised in the Central State University Survey.

At the Board meeting the next evening, Mr. McBride through Dr. Macon, presented a statement, upon the advice of his legal counsel that the Board couldn't terminate the contract. Dr. Macon couldn't take a position that might not exist. The Board then voted to test its case in court. Two days later, at 9 A. M. the Board passed a series of motions changing who could sign checks and documents for the district. On November 10th the Board moved forward legally and found that Mr. McBride had already initiated legal action. The attorneys and the judge reached an agreement to let Mr. McBride continue in office until the case was settled. At this meeting also an eighth grade teacher submitted his resignation:

> ...because of the existing situation between the Board of Education and the Superintendent, which he feels is impairing his services as a teacher. (11/10/54)

In December, letters from the Board's lawyer indicated that the legal status of the Board's "discharging" of the superintendent would have pro and con briefs filed and prepared for oral arguments before the judge.

While the county judge deliberated on the Board-Superintendent conflict, or at least the Board's power to fire him, the minutes remained silent on the affair. In late March 1955 the activities surfaced in several items:

> Since Dr. Macon had been appointed Acting Superintendent October 28, 1954 in the instance the position of superintendent was vacated by court action, President Lewis asked Mr. Macon if he had anything to bring before the Board.

He did. It was this resolution:

> We, Mr. Neal Unger, Director of Elementary Education, for the School District of Milford; Dr. Phillip Macon, Principal of the High School, and Dr. Earl B. Steckman, Assistant, for the School District of Milford, do hereby propose the following recommendation;
>
> We, the above are of the opinion that someone or some group of persons must assume the responsibility for the educational leadership of the educational program within our School District. We believe that this can best be accomplished during this interim period by we as a group; and that each member should function within his own designated area of authority as now delegated to us as administrators by the Board of Education of the Milford School District.

> Problems effecting the entire school system would be resolved by the above mentioned group through conferences and any problems requiring Board approval would be submitted to the Board of Education through the office of the Assistant to the Superintendent. (3/29/55)

It was signed by all three individuals. The Board then voted 4-2 on two items 1) rescinding the appointment of Macon as Acting Superintendent and 2) accepting the resolution presented by Dr. Macon.

The Democratic Resolution

One week later, all these actions were for nought. The control of local schools in America lies in the participatory democratic procedure known as voting. On April 6th, in the presence of some 75 visitors, the Board reported the election results:[50]

Lewis	1111
Krist	1053
Edmond	2475
Irwin	537
Trotter	2506

The voters rejected "the potent board president", as we have labeled him, and one of his most recent supporters. The 4-2 majority was now a 2-4 minority. Mr. Quigley became the new president and Mr.   , the new Vice President. The long conflict was now over.

But, as with many real life stories, a post script existed. A resolution was passed to continue to seek the court judgment on the case for it was of interest to varied groups of teachers and educators, both local and state.

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[50] In addition the tax levy for the teachers fund and for the incidental fund were both defeated. A third issue, transfer of a small piece of Milford property to another district was also defeated.

Since it was also possible for Mr. McBride to act as Superintendent during this period he was reinstated by a 4-1 vote (one absence). A further postscript appeared a week later in a motion:

> Be it resolved that the interim committee, consisting of Dr. Macon, Dr. Steckman, and Mr. Neal Unger, to supervise the schools, be dissolved and a vote of thanks given herewith for a job well done.[51] (4/14/55)

The issue did not die with that resolution for a major judicial decision was being sought by a number of local and state parties to the question "Can a Board fire a superintendent who has a legal contract with time still to run?" On April 19, 1955, the Board attorney indicated the legal route from county court to appeals court to State Supreme Court. Further questions arose of personal liability of Board members for any salary paid "illegally."

On August 16th, 1955, the Court ruled that the Board could not fire the superintendent, Section 168.090, 1949 was the only ground for dismississal. Two weeks later Mr. McBride, on a 4-2 vote, received a new 3 year contract at $10,000/year.

6.4 The World Turns: Old Themes Continue 1953-55

Without entering any substantial detail, a welter of "usual" items continued: transportation remained a problem for 30% of children lived over a mile from school. Marquette parents argued they were promised free transportation when their District was annexed. Total transportation costs were estimated at $2000/month. Federal money for the new buildings, especially related to defense impacted area, were sought. Enrollments increased by 582 pupils to 2646, mostly at the elementary level. Agreements with adjoining districts were reached regarding vocational education. Special education students continued to be handled individually. Discussions were underway regarding a football team at the High School. The second school bulletin, "Our Public Schools", was due out in the Autumn of 1953. Preparations were underway for letting contracts on two more schools. Written policies were developed for use of school buildings. Several sites for a new high school were under consideration. Suburban County, with approval of the individual districts, filed suit against the Govenor of Midwest State for vetoing a multi million dollar school appropriations bill. Money for High School Assembies ($200.00) was allocated. Fire Drills were to be stressed at the new Grant School because the children "are not well acquainted with the building." Problems regarding high school class rings received attention. Four people from the District were now expensed to the AASA meetings in Atlantic City in February. Remedial reading became an issue receiving attention; 128 children were tested. Ninety-five students were in elementary school band.

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[51] An observer commenting on this story indicated in his opinion Dr. Macon, the High School Principal, saved his job by deflecting the sole responsibility into the troika.

In 1953-54 the array of items continued. The problems with increasing size of insurance premiums and the problem of having them go to some combination of agents in the District arose. Continuing discussions of the site for the high school, disagreements over the bid and asked price of the choosen site, the pros and cons (mostly financial) of a negotiated agreement versus a condemnation procedure appeared. Discussion with builders and contractors continued. A Bond issue was submitted and passed. Contracts on elementary schools were let. The continuing conflict within the Board and between the Board and the Superintendent, most of which has appeared in our discussion of "The Potency of the Outside Survey" continued. Just prior to the School Board Elections (3/21/54) these items appeared in the minutes:

> Mr. Dawson asked Mr. McBride if he had ever referred to any member of the School Board as reactionaries? Mr. McBride said he had not. Mr. Dawson asked Mr. McBride if he had stated to some persons that certain members of the Board wanted to have him fired? Mr. McBride said he did not recall.
>
> When Mr. McBride asked if he was doing any campaigning for the election of any school Board members, he stated that as a citizen of the community he had a right to support certain candidates, and he was supporting Mr. Quigley and Mr. Tebeau in the coming election.
>
> Mr. McBride further stated that all contracts but his had been renewed. He felt that he was being put on the spot and was doing his best to cooperate. Mr. Lewis stated that the Board was not given enough information to make proper evaluation of the superintendent's positions.
>
> Mr. McBride stated that all Board meetings were an evaluation. (3/21/54)

Negotiations continued regarding property for the high school. Bankers and lawyers entered the discussions. Integrative solutions appeared regarding prices, parcels along a main road and additional adjoining properties, to make at least 22 acres.

Enrollment pressures continued. Suggestions were heard for no kindergarten until the two new elementary schools were ready. Proposals were submitted for an 8-4 school organization. Ideas were circulated regarding double shifts at the High School. Reports continued to come in from outside sources regarding the District in general, the guidance department, and consultants for the new high school building. The Superintendent filed a detailed eight page report, "Policies, Rules, and Regulations." In between times, septic tanks required attention, insurance policies were extended, 25 new teachers were hired. Plans for "multi purpose" rooms to be added to Marquette and Milford Elementary Schools were submitted.

At the regular meeting of the Board in May, 1954 two small items appeared which later would run through out our story:

> Mr. McBride and Mr. Unger recommended that Mr. Edwards be employed as principal of Milford Baptist Church School.

The Board moved and passed unanimously on that suggestion.

Later in the meeting it was noted regard desegregation:

> Mr. McBride explained that many of the county schools are planning to continue as they are now until a final decision is forthcoming from the Attorney General. No action can be taken at this time concerning the Negro students of our District. (5/26/54)

A month later, an item appeared on another old theme:

> A telegram was received from Mr. Townsend and Mr. Jacobs [Midwest State's Senators] stating that Milford School District was declared in a critical defense area. Our application for government aid has been passed on affirmatively. It is very possible that the District will be allotted between $156,000 to $170,000.

Their efforts continued to be successful. If the average teacher was paid $4,000 at the time this would be equivalent to 40 salaries. The Board had added 19 positions in the last year.

Amidst all the controversy described in the potent report concerning the superintendent, other major items of business occurred:

> The decision of segregation is up to the Board of Education according to the letter from the Commissioner of Education pertaining to the Attorney General's opinion in regard to the U. S. Supreme Court decision on segregation in the public schools.

> Dr. Steckman recommended that the Board make a decision soon, but not to permit the colored children to come into the schools until September 1955.
>
> A motion was made by Mr. Quigley and seconded by Mr. Tebeau that plans to end segregation in Milford School District be made so they may take effect September 1, 1955. The motion carried unanimously. (7/14/54)

A month later the Board received a petition from "thirty-five Negro families." No copy of the petition appears in the records:

> It was decided to wait until September 1955 to admit colored pupils in the elementary schools because of our crowded conditions and it would be to their advantage to continue at their present school until that time.
> (8/25/54)

The Board also voted unanimously to meet within a week (8/30) with the parents.

Rental of more rooms at the two local churches was decided on. A deadline was set for signing the agreement on property for the new high school. If the owner is unwilling to sign, then the issue will be turned over to the school attorney for condemnation procedures.

The special meeting of the Board on August 30th, 1954 dealt mainly with the petition by Black residents of Milford. The minutes are reported in their entirety:

> The meeting was called as a result of a petition presented by certain citizens in regard to the decision of the Board to postpone integration of colored students until September 1955. The Board had agreed, previous to the meeting, that if the group of citizens represented by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People wished integration of the High School students in September of 1954, then the Board would be willing to begin this part of the program but postpone elementary until September 1955 because of crowded school conditions. If any colored high school student wished to continue his education at Green City High School, the Board would continue to pay tuition and transportation.

> Mr. Lewis opened the meeting by presenting a statement in accordance with the agreement stated above.
>
> Many of the signers of the petition were present. Mr. Yancey acted as spokesman for the group, explaining that it was felt unfair for high school students to spend 30 hours a week in the classroom and 25 hours transportation time. The elementary situation was felt to be satisfactory for this year. Mr. Ragan, State President of the N.A.A.C.P. also spoke and expressed approval of the Board's revised plan of action for high school integration.
>
> Mr. McBride stated that in the future all citizens must work together for the school system and there would be no distinctions made between any of the students in the total school programs.
>
> The group of citizens who were present approved the decision reached by the Board and left the meeting well satisfied. (8/30/54)

The meeting contained an item that the contracts for the new high school had been signed and property surveys were underway.

The Board agreed unanimously on a date for open house at the new Edinburg School. They disagreed regarding a replacement for Mrs. Cooper who resigned for reasons of health after an accident. The Board majority defeated the minority candidate, Mr. Edmond and voted in its candidate, Mr. Krist with a 3-2 split vote and a concern about the "legality" of the Board's action. Plans and sketches of the new high school building were discussed and accepted, "so that we might apply for a federal grant." Signatures were affixed on the resolution for the sale of $450,000 in bonds. The lay advisory committee wrote a letter to the Board:

> ...expressing the unanimous approval of the Lay Advisory Committee for the prompt action taken by the Board permitting the immediate integration of the colored students of high school age. (9/22/54)

The Board also wrote Dr. Thoelke regarding the cost of a "concise summary of the University survey." Finally the Board accepted an auditor's report and voted to retain his services during the year.

One of the common sense truisms, if not social science generalizations, is that "life goes on" no matter how intense the conflict, no matter whether one is participating in or witnessing the agony of defeat or the ecstasy of victory. This profundity or cliche is well illustrated in the Board meeting of November 10, 1954. As we described in the strand of events related to the continuing conflict, Mr. McBride had been voted out at the prior meeting and at this November meeting, the legal counter attack was underway. Meanwhile, the architect for the new high school brought sketches, models and suggestions, and the interrelated problems arising in building a new large school.

Secondly, the nature of the instructional program received a major emphasis by the Board:

> Dr. Steckman [Assistant to the Superintendent] stated that in paying for the textbooks $2,000 would be spent in excess of the amount budgeted for textbooks. However, the principals felt they needed textbooks more than other things and would prefer to cut down elsewhere. He stated that the budget would not be disturbed in total amount. (11/10/54)

Presumably we are seeing a congruency in views from Board to administrators (and probably teachers and parents) about one vital element in curriculum, teaching, and learning, the textbook. In a half dozen or eight years, Spanman and Shelby respectively, as Superintendent of Milford and Principal of Kensington, will be arguing strongly for a major alternative strategy of curriculum, teaching and learning.

In addition, the Board continued a move from "traditionalism to modernism" or from "localism to cosmopolitanism":

> The Board discussed the value of remaining a member of the Midwest School Board Association at dues of $100. It was generally agreed that it would be a good investment. (11/10/54)

The unevenness and complexity in moves along those roads seems to have been with the district continually over the years from 1915.

The outside world, the environment remained turbulent and the Board continued to cope:

> Mr. McBride stated that, due to a glaziers' strike there may be a halt to building at the Field School. Unless windows are in or boarded up, the inside work cannot be done.
>
> It was agreed that Mr. Udall, Attorney to the Board, investigate the possiblity of pleading hardship to the union and getting a release to continue building. (11/10/54)

The Federal theme continued:

> Considerable discussion was held on whether or not it would be wise to make a new application for Federal Aid at this time. It was felt that application for four classrooms should be made now rather than later as the possiblity of receiving an apportionment later is unsure. (11/10/54)

Again, a kind of coping occurs based on best estimates of an uncertain world.

"Smaller issues", some on conflict, e.g. the teachers salaries related to the before school workshop which was missed, bids on furniture, keeping grass cut on the school yard "befitting the surrounding subdivision", and the institution of a bond issue for a multi-purpose room for the Marquette School, a 19 unit secondary building, and for purchasing additional sites for school buildings. It was a busy time indeed.

Also, it seems no matter how themes are construed separately, they become entangled in the day to day affairs. Population growth, parochial schools, and the interdependency of religious institutions and the public schools as institutions kept intertwining:

> ...a study of fifteen subdivisions within the school district. Most housing units will be completed by 1956, with a total of 4050 families moving in by that date. Counting one child per family, even if half are parochial students, there will be 2025 more children by 1956.

A mix up in the interpretation of regulations suggested that the district might be eligible for $379,000 in federal aid, almost four times as much as originally thought. And finally a local protestant church requested the use of a school's classrooms and multipurpose rooms for Sunday School and morning worship services for a year and a half, until their building is completed:

> It was agreed that the request should be granted since the school district is allowing other churches to use schools for worship. (11/24/54)

No mention was made of the recipocity in the schools renting rooms in the educational buildings of several Milford churches.

A subtheme that might have been pulled out, elaborated in more detail, and dealt with as a unified issue is the building of the new high school. Instead we have left it as a more contextual set of items in the broad stream of entangled interdependent elements. Building issues will be focused on as

Kensington itself is conceived a decade later. The building frenzy of the fifties occasionally skipped vividly through the minutes, as they did on March 9th, 1955, in three quick items:

> Sealed bids for grading of the new high school site were opened and read.
>
> A motion was made by Mr. Dawson and seconded by Mr. Tebeau that we table the acceptance of the low bid on the grading of the new high school site while we receive bids for the high school building. The motion carried unanimously.
>
> A motion was made by Mr. Quigley and seconded by Mr. Tebeau that we authorize Mr. Udall, attorney for the Board, to take whatever action is necessary so that we can proceed with the building of the new high school immediately, as this is an emergency. The motion carried unanimously. (3/9/55)

The continuing complications and the complexity of such issues appear and reappear. Consultants and their reports, property negotiations, bond issues, citizen involvement, teacher views and desires, curricular and program enlargements, represent a large agenda requiring orchestration. Grading a site was just one more small item in that large agenda.

As the minutes continue their staccato and episodic but torrential flow, the potentiality of each item carrying broader meaning, that is, being located in multiple strands which in turn intertwine into larger complicated themes, seems always with us. The nature of education in a democracy, school governance and administration, and problems of exceptional children come to mind as we read two brief items:

> It was reported by Mr. McBride that a study on special education is being made by a committee of County Superintendents. The need in our district is greatest with regard to mentally retarded children over those other special children as there are approximately forty mentally

> retarded children. Parents of these special children are demanding that something be done right away with regard to setting up rooms for these children.
>
> A motion was made by Mr. Trotter and seconded by Mr. Tebeau that a meeting be called for interested parents and that they be made partly responsible for the program on special education. The motion carried unanimously. (4/14/55)

What are interests, concerns, and "demands" of parents become problems for school administrations and boards. The latter's actions become school structures, programs and services. Democracy is actualized. Children are educated. On a later day, the "same" problems reappeared in new guises, structures, programs, and political debates.

The same evening, another long standing issue received attention, and equally, indirectly spoke to the complications of multiple perspectives and political interests:

> Mr. Unger talked with Mrs. O'Brien [the Black teacher] as to what the parents wanted to do with regard to closing Attucks School and their children being sent to Milford Elementary School. It was her opinion that the parents wished to keep their own school. It was decided to leave the situation as is for the present time until a definite answer can be agreed on and these parents' exact feelings expressed. (4/14/55)

Further clarification, and expansion of the agenda of issues occurred in a letter from the Attucks P.T.A. group:

> A recommendation was offered that we retain our Attucks School and integrate here.
>
> Another motion was offered and passed that we retain our teacher, Mrs. O'Brien and our custodian, Mrs. Adams.
>
> The organization also would like to ask the Board to give some of the members consideration in filling positions in the cafeteria and as custodians in our schools. (5/10/55)

Still later in May the Board voted to maintain Attucks in its current status and to give consideration to Attucks P.T.A. members in district jobs. By August the 16th, the Board voted to close the Attucks and have the pupils attend the Williams School whose attendance area encompassed the Attucks neighborhood.

Mrs. O'Brien, the Black teacher from Attucks was appointed "Attendance Officer for the School District", as recommended by the Superintendent and approved unanimously by the Board.

In April also the Board formally moved to regularize the twice monthly meeting. The first for general business, the second primarily for "the educational procedure." This motion was also passed unanimously.

Almost from the beginning of district records issues surrounding tax levies and the ebb and flow of their passing and failing have appeared. In the Spring of '55 where the district was fighting over McBride's dismissal and when the two major antagonists to him on the Board were defeated, the Milford community was also voting down tax levies for the teachers' fund and incidental fund. For the first time in the minutes the nature of the dire consequences appeared:

> Another point to be used as part of the program to get the tax levies accepted is to let the people, especially the parents of school children, know just what would be the results if the levies failed. That is the curtailment of special activities such as kindegarten, guidance program, special rooms for retarded children, an adult education program and also the use of the school buildings after regular hours due to the added expense of janitors, etc. (4/25/55)

Those with most at stake, the parents of school children, are to be enlisted as special allies in the political wars. The May 10th attempt was successful.

Considerably different ratios of pro to con votes occurred from elementary attendance area to elementary attendance area, e.g. in one school 371 Yeas and 342 Nays and in another, 698 Yeas and 97 Nays.

Meanwhile, the State Foundation Program's contribution increased. Local committees met and reported--one of which was a Civil Defense Committee--the cold war had come to Milford. Evaluation, ID tags, transportation, hospitalization, emergency food were all part of the agenda. The high school curriculum continued to enlarge--Latin, French, Commercial Law, Metal Work and annual offerings, instead of alternative year offerings of Chemistry and Physics. Co-curricular activities--footfall, wrestling, and archery--appeared.

The plan of the new high school was nationally recognized and acclaimed in a prominent national educational journal. The price of 10,000 reprints was sought for possible mailings to all the district patrons.[52] The seeds of Kensington's later architectual fame and fortune had been sown with the award winning new high school building.

6.5 Neighborhood Schools: Roots and Sentiments

From time to time in our account we have made reference to the drawing of boundaries between and among the elementary schools. In a way, these events seem to be microcosms of district politics. Parents, lay groups, and the Board usually have multiple and conflicting political interests, in the best sense of that term. The school administration, at the behest of the Board, draws up multiple sets of alternative plans for debate and discussion. Each plan represents different costs and benefits to different clusters of citizens as one block or street goes to this school in Plan A but to that school in Plan B, to the finances of the district as dollar and cents costs for more or less transportation arise, to the conditions of teaching and learning as class size, grade levels, and curricular opportunities are allocated and reallocated. In the Winter of 1954-55, a dispute of some vigor arose, the records enable us to tell a story which seems to have meaning for later times and places.

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[52] In October 1955, 8,000 copies were ordered for $600.00.

Planning Boundaries for New Schools

As with all school stories, the roots seem to go back forever and fade into nuances, which, at the time are minimally perceived, if seen at all. We begin our story at the December 8th, 1954 Board meeting with item "No. 759", Attendance Areas for Elementary Schools:

> Mr. Neal Unger [Director of Elementary Education] discussed with the Board the work that the elementary principals have done in working out the attendance areas for the elementary school. He introduced Mr. Sten Unroch, Chairman of the Principals Committee. Mr. Unroch discussed the three plans worked out and pointed out the advantages and disadvantages of each plan. The Principals Committee recommended that their plan "C" be used. (12/8/54)

The Board moved, seconded, discussed, and unanimously approved Plan C.

The minutes do not contain Plans A and B, Plan C is included as a nine page addendum: one page states the advantages, a second page summarizes all six schools (including the two new ones, Field and Williams) and the remaining clarify the implications and pros and cons for each school individually. The Grant School has two pages. The five items in the page of "Advantages" allows one to make inference, at least partially, on the kind of reasoning used by the administrators and accepted by the Board.

1. This is the only plan whereby all children will be contained within school buildings.

During the period of rapid growth two large groups of children were housed in the educational buildings of local churches. Presumably Plans A and B left some youngsters in those temporary facilities. As far as the recorded minutes read, these arrangements have been amicable. Continuing discussions of number of rooms, rent, janitor wages, and so forth have occurred.

2. In most instances, schools have acceptable pupil/teacher ratio with allowances for future growth. However, Edinburg has no room for expansion. There is room in Milford Elementary for new children enrolling from the Edinburg area.

Pupil/Teacher ratios in an absolute sense speak to how much individual attention children will receive. In a comparative sense they speak to equity among teachers in work load and equity among children. Allowances for future growth seems an attempt to eliminate additional changes in the near future. A contingency relationship between two adjacent schools (Edinburg and Milford) is in place.

3. The present school boundaries are about the same as now except that the 8th grade pupils will be enrolled at Williams as an 8th grade center. Several 7th grades are also to be enrolled there, thus making a nucleus for a Junior High School. This will allow Grant and Field to operate on the generally accepted K-6 plan. Other schools will contain K through seventh.

This arrangement begins to put into place the longer term K-6, 7-9, 10-12, or 6-3-3 plan which has been both implicit and explicit in discussions of sites and plans for the new high school. The "generally accepted K-6 plan" has been in the district for years since the 1930's when all the elementary children were consolidated in the Milford Elementary School and the junior and senior high school students went to the "high school." Once again, district traditions are honored in form and in gradual change.

4. The pupil load per school will make a good and economical distribution. It is noticeable that the enrollment at Milford Elementary is a little below average but they will be accepting all new students from both the Milford Elementary and Edinburg areas.

The item on "pupil load" summarizes key data from page two of the nine pages. That table lists schools by a series of dimensions:

Rooms Available
Rooms Needed
Rooms Short
Extra Rooms
Teachers We Have
Teachers Needed
Total Pupils
Kindergarten Estimate
Total

Buildings are set in stone, brick, and concrete, givens that aren't changed easily and that must be worked around. The most overloaded school is paired with a nearby one. Only three rooms out of 91 are "empty." Efficiency experts and school patrons, from our reading, would be pleased with such a degree of plant utilization.

5. Transportation is confined to older students who are more able to cope with the problems, with the exception of new people enrolling from the Edinburg area.

Our now old friend "transportation" is coped with in a way that most people would probably see as reasonable--older students should be able to fend better. In the one area, Edinburg, the underlying principle might be phrased as "first come, first served", a norm with considerable acceptance in the general culture.

> The summary recommendation states:
>
> It is recommended that this plan be accepted as it appears to be the most feasible, economical, and generally advantageous. (12/8/54)

The pages for each elementary school seems to have been written by their separate principals--the format varies and the recommendations begin in first person singular--"I recommend..." The items present such phrases and wording as:

> The people now enrolled in Edinburg can continue to go there.
> Combining the two 6th grades and using a different type desk.
> The Milford Elementary area would be bounded..."
> Operate as a self-contained kindergarten through 7th grade unit.
> Grant has 12 classrooms, 1 kindergarten room and two special education rooms. A total of 15 rooms.
> One possible trouble spot and that in the kindergarten.
> A split room of grades five and six could possibly eliminate that.

Though violently split in their feelings over the superintendent at this time, the Board and the administration continued to approach the day to day problems directly, decisively, and in this instance unanimously.

Parental Interests and Politics

On January 19th, a group of parents from the Crestwood Hills Subdivision attended the Board meeting:

> President Lewis called the meeting to order in executive session with the administrators to reconsider the boundary lines set up for the Marquette and the Field Schools. The administrators expressed their viewpoints and felt that after reconsidering other possibilities that the plan adopted by the Board was the best that could be worked out. The executive session adjourned and the regular open meeting resumed at 8:30 p.m.
>
> A *two hour* (our Italics) discussion was held with the residents of Crestwood Hills Subdivision who were protesting the new boundary lines for the Marquette and Field Schools. The Board agreed that the boundary lines would not be changed at present. (1/19/55)

But citizens, at least Milford Citizens, do not give up so easily. At the next Board meeting, (2/5/55), which was a special one to finalize the High School plans the Board directed its secretary to write to one of the leaders of the group from Crestwood Hills asking him to submit their reasons and a proposal regarding the new boundary lines. The group's letter, in response, made a half dozen points, which we have paraphrased:

1. Field will be more crowded. Charts are provided.
2. Additional transfer will be necessitated in a year or two.
3. Although new, the playground and space are less adequate.
4. "Our children are within walking distance of the Marquette School, whereas it would require transportation for them to attend Field School.
5. Reduce enrollment pressure.
6. Overall Plan "C" is best, with this one modification.

Chart I contained data on overall enrollments and indicated that the teacher/pupil ratio in the two schools would be 34 and 33 in the citizens plan rather than 30 and 37 in the Board Plan. Chart II projected housing growths and attendance growth using the Board's "own methods of estimating." Chart III presented a grade by grade and room by room breakdown on enrollments. On February 23rd, the principals recommended and the Board reaffirmed that Plan "C" in its original form should be adhered to.

Underlying Sentiments and Neighborhood Schools

On March 2, 1955, another special session was held. The only agenda item was the Crestwood Hills Citizen Group. This time they came with a petition.[53] The minutes are brief for a three and a half hour meeting. The two key items are these:

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[53] Present day informal recollection from district staff who were teaching in the district at the time indicate the citizens came with "placards" as well, and they "invaded" the Board room and meeting.

> A motion was made by Mr. Quigley and seconded by Mr. Tebeau that the plan according to the Crestwood Hills Committee Chart III be submitted to the Board's Committee on redistricting and that we recommend that it be tried effective Friday, March 4, 1955, since this is a borderline case. Furthermore, in the event this change produces other problems which the Board cannot cope with, the Board reserves the right to revert to Plan "C". Any new students moving into the Marquette area may be sent to the other schools, determined by the Administration. The motion passed unanimously.

A second and related motion was made and passed:

> A motion was made by Mr. Youngman and seconded by Mr. Dawson that those children that have already enrolled in Field School may remain at that school or return to Marquette School as they elect. The motion passed unanimously. The foregoing motion and amendment excludes all kindergarten children.

A number of interpretations might be made from these briefly recorded minutes--citizens who express strong sentiments, and who present reasonable alternatives, and who don't give up, do influence the schools, or at least the Milford Schools in ways small but important to themselves.

But these are only part of the issues needing discussion. The related issues of neighborhood schools, the conception, the belief systems and the sentiments came into clear focus in the citizen's petition, which was appended to the Board minutes. The petition had an introduction and two major items:

> We the residents of the Marquette area are opposed to the new school boundaries for the following reasons: ...

As we read this, the initial test of the legitimacy of the appeal rests on concept of "residency." In effect, because we live here, and, implicitly, vote here, and, along with other residents, have ultimate say over your tenure as Board members, you should listen to us. You "don't have to", in one sense, if you are willing to take the consequences at the polls in April, or a year from April or two years from April. That strand of reasoning can be construed as "negative", but for most issues, as indeed is true in this instance, the attempt and spirit of most community citizens is grounded in working together for the "good of the children" if not some more generally stated common good.

The petition continues:

> 1. We purchased our property because it was near the school so that our children, who have no sidewalks or safe places to wait for buses, would be in walking distance of the school.

The fact of being a property owner, in this day and age, does not enhance the sequence of political power which culminates in the vote. It does seem to imply however, a greater financial investment in the community and perhaps the probability that we will be here longer than other citizens. And all that many imply a greater concern for the neighborhood, at least its physical aspects, because one has a financial investment to protect.

In addition, there may be an implicit style of life dimension in nearness to the school, that is, "in walking distance." Proximity is a major variable, so we would argue, in most lay persons conception, even if rarer in social psychological theory. The argument is raised but not elaborated here. Implicitly, the avoidance of car pools, of owning second automobiles, of the children's autonomy in getting to school by themselves, and the availability of parent/school help in short time and distance if a problem arises might be hypothesized.

Finally, the comments regarding "no sidewalks" and "no safe places to wait for buses" describes everpresent particular circumstances which complicate the other more general issue. In addition, the appeal to "safety" seems again to reach for bedrock common ground, "health and safety of young children" that no one, presumably, would disagree with.

The petition continues:

> 2. We do not believe it is right for children, who live within walking distance of the Marquette School, to be transferred to a school requiring transportation (for which we would have to pay), while children living farther away and already requiring transportation, attend Marquette School.

Moral-ethical arguments "not right" enter the debate. At root, the implicit principle is that the neighborhood school children, adjacent to the school, should not be displaced, "transferred," to allow students who live farther away, and already require transportation, to be given preference. The double insult, seems to be having to pay for the violation as well. The petition contained signatures from 84 residences, some as individuals and some as couples.

In recent years, many of the school boundary and transportation issues have contained racial overtones. Our illustration here accents that the issue boiled furiously in the district before race was a factor. Secondly, the issue permits and continues our gradual but cumulating probing into the nature of the beliefs, sentiments, and thought processes relevant to the most basic construal of social life in this American community. We believe this is fundamental to our larger task, the exploration of "Innovation and Change in American Education."

6.6 The Remaining Years of McBride's Tenure 1955-

The Narrative

In an attempt to maintain an orderly development of the narrative of Milford and to keep some of our interpretive and analytical themes close to the time, place, and circumstances of their occurrence we have looked for common sense, if not logical, breaking points to divide our discussion. Nineteen fifty-five seems one of those points. Mr. McBride has survived the threat to his superintendency, the potent outside report has become an historical document, the strong Board president lost his bid for re-election, the boundary problems between and among the new elementary schools have revealed the localist roots of neighborhood schools, and the new high school has been conceptualized, designed, and readied for construction.

In the early Autumn of 1955, reports from NEA platform and resolutions were included in the bound Board minutes. Political educational action at the national level was underway as well. The Board, with reports from the Superintendent were cognizant of those positions. The Board approved the conceptualization of the 7th and 8th grades as a junior high school and the housing of the youngsters in the new high school, to be opened a year from now. Temporary buildings were readied at several of the new elementary schools:

> Mr. McBride reported that the temporary buildings at Edinburg Elementary School are ready for occupancy as soon as the gas is turned on and that six of the eight rooms would be used right away. (10/11/55)

Bus transportation was being discussed with the State Department of Education. And other discussions were underway "with regard to unionized custodial employees" (10/11/55). Teacher recruitment trips were made to the State Colleges in the rural parts of Midwest State. Older school by older school, the Board continued to make and actualize plans to build "multi-purpose rooms" for the use of teachers and pupils. These discussions were unanimous. They equalized the facilities across the elementary schools. They also suggest a part of the district history that Spanman, Cohen, and Shelby were to conflict with in their analysis and label of "multi useless" rooms as they planned and later defended the design of the Kensington School. Copies of a "revised official salary schedule for teachers" (11/29/55) was developed but no action was taken. Again we seem to be foreshadowing issues of Spanman's tenure for in less than a decade he was to break the salary schedule to bring in staff he wanted particularly for Kensington and for district curriculum development efforts. Motions also were passed to continue to solicit Federal Building Funds, this time approximately $350,000. A bond issue of $1,830,000 was passed.

When the district pupil population is growing and buildings are being built at the rate of one per year, and the same events are happening in most other districts, it doesn't take much figuring to see a teacher shortage in the making. In December 1955, the County Superintendent of Schools wrote a mimeographed letter to the President of Milford's Board of Education and presumably to all the Districts in Suburban County indicating the magnitude of the problem. The supply of new teachers from the colleges and universities was not going to be sufficient in Midwest State, nor in neighboring states. Recruitment tactics and pressures, both from out of the state and within the state, were described. Alternative sources of teachers and financial inducements were part of his concern.

Programs continued to expand in several ways. The County Health Department began a "parent education program in mental health" which was available for two schools in the district. A proposal for a "supervised summer activity program" for the district was submitted, and passed, after discussion later in February.

Accidents and acts of God still happen. A fire destroyed most of the Marquette School in February. That same afternoon at 3 P.M. the Board met in special session, made plans, and voted to implement several decisions. Round the clock security was provided by the custodial staff and county police. Several churches offered the use of their facilities. One of these was accepted. Some classes went on double shift for which approval was sought from the State Department of Education. Insurance, inspections, and reconstruction moved forward. The cause of the fire was to be investigated by "whatever County Department that handles such investigations."

Inserted in the February minutes was a detailed set of materials (10 plus pages) describing a neighboring district's competition for an architect to design a new junior high school. One's neighbors seem always present for a variety of comparative purposes.

In March 1956, discussions began with a builder over a school site in the Wooded Valley area, for he was planning on building some 350 homes in the area. Kensington School, for the first time, was in the offing, although a half dozen years away.

In April, the last two of the "anti McBride" faction did not stand for re-election. Mr. Rainey and Mr. Eads joined the Board with large majorities. Immediately following their installation and the voting for officers, Mr. Quigley remained President of the Board, Mr. McBride presented a new "Administrative Organization." Dr. Steckman remained but as "School Business

Official." A "Director of Services and Information" was created. Two "Administrative Assistants", one for elementary and one for secondary were listed, as was a principal and assistant principal of the high school and a junior high school principal. Each elementary school continued to have a principal. Most were offered two year contracts. A formal organization chart spelling out these arrangements also appeared. Mrs. Idler, a former principal remained on the staff in an unspecified position. Later she returned to an elementary classroom. It would be 25 years before another woman would be appointed principal in Milford.

Curriculum issues floated by in May. The Board voted not to be involved in the Metropolitan Educational Television Programs. A welfare program was raised and Mr. McBride was to represent the district in the discussions. In response to a P.T.A. request:

> A discussion as to special education for above average students was held at some great length. (5/15/56)

Plans for a summer school program. at a fee of $24.00 were proceeding. Special education students were identified. A class for mentally retarded and employment of a speech correctionist were recommended and passed, as were supervisors for art and physical education.

The Summer of 1956 was spent on the usual kinds of problems: buying buses, black topping playgrounds, hiring last minute teachers, working with realtors and property owners on possible school sites, reviewing bids on equipment and materials, bids on subunits at the new high school, problems over sewers at the new high school, attending to insurance, and seeking legal opinions on a variety of items. When school opened 1,000 youngsters were being bused. By the end of September parents were to be told:

> Since there is no State Aid furnished for the transportation of kindergarten students all those students wishing to ride the bus must pay the required set fee. (9/25/56)

And the renaming of schools also occurred that Autumn. The two significant events here included the honoring of the two oldest educational figures, Mr. McBride and Mr. Unger, the superintendents of Milford and Marquette prior to the merger. Praire School, named for the beauty of its geography, later was altered to Williams, upon the request of the School P.T.A. and Mothers' Club. Later the Mothers' Club requested:

> ...consideration of a name sign for the Williams School. (3/12/57)

This led to the general issue of signs for all elementary schools, appointment of a committee, and later approval. Local democracy (of the people, by the people, for the people) had its way again in Milford.

Formalization of programs continued. Under the title of "Those Extra Educational Services Other Than Regular Curriculum" appeared accounts of the testing program -- achievement (California), general and special abilities (DAT), interests (Kuder and Strong) and the array of clubs (25) athletics (six boys, 4 girls), and music, dance, publications, etc. Modernization was continuing. One could almost see the shadow of Mr. Lewis, the former President of the Board. Administrative salary schedules were put as ratios of teachers salaries: 1.4 for elementary, 1.45 for junior high and 1.5 for senior high. Teacher retirement programs defined at the state level moved from 4% contributions by teachers and by the district to 6% by each. A new position, e.g. Director of Music, was created, another, Director of Guidance, was lengthened from ten to eleven months, and also:

> ...an additional secretary be employed for the central office to work on federal records. (2/11/57)

Architects conferences, changes in plans and special conditions (sewers, structural steel, roads, etc.) appeared with great frequency as new buildings were planned and built and as old buildings were renovated. For the first time, the minutes included comparative cost figures--by rooms and by square footage:

School	Per Room	Per Sq. Ft.
Johnson	$28,700	$15.80
McBride	28,500	12.05
Field	22,400	11.00-$12.00
Williams	21,500	
Edinburg	20,500	
Grant	17,600	9.40

Cost cutting items were raised. All bids on the new Johnson School were rejected by unanimous vote:

> ...due to the high cost and sufficient funds not being available. (11/27/56)

"Specs" were to be reviewed, government regulations considered, and new advertising for bids. A form of data and argument was crystallizing and would appear with great force in later years as debates arose on the Kensington School. A January bond issue for $890,000 passed 1,345 to 157.

Tucked away in the minutes in January was an enigmatic item:

> A discussion was held on the consolidating all the County School Districts. (1/16/57)

In February, another minute referred to a letter from the County government regarding consolidation:

> The matter was tabled by the Board until more information is available. (2/11/57)

Much later, December 1957:

> Mr. McBride read a letter to Mr. Quigley from the Secretary of the County Board of Education stating that they had agreed not to submit a plan for further school district reorganization at this time. (12/10/57)

Annual school Board Elections found the incumbents unchallenged and Mr. Tebeau were re-elected. An anonaly occurred. Mr. Quigley and Mr. Edmond each received three votes for President. Mr. Edmond withdrew and Mr. Quigley was elected unanimously by acclaimation.

Early in our account of the district's history we commented upon the gradual accretion of equipment and supplies--baseballs and bats, a piano, and movie projector. Obviously through the years new items were added. Occasionally items in the minutes provided striking comparisons and contrasts. In the Summer of 1957 in anticipation of the opening of the new high school this item appeared:

> ...the Administration be authorized to purchase Wood Shop, Metal Shop, Mechanical Drawing and Mechanical Crafts Equipment for the total amount of $33,368.49. (7/9/57)

The motion carried unanimously.

Also, like an old friend, the papers for the "National School Lunch Program" were signed, upon a unanimous vote of the Board.

Also like an old friend, special education issues returned in the form of a multi district regional unit for handicapped children. Petitions were required. While these discussions and activities were underway, the local resolutions continued on their idiosyncratic way:

> Mr. McBride asked the Board's opinion on keeping a handicapped child in the Marquette School.
>
> The Board agreed with the Superintendent's decision to let the child stay in school as long as he could get around in a normal classroom and handle himself without too much inconvenience to the teacher. (11/26/57)

The Multi District program was established in the Spring of 1958. The Board signed the appropriate contracts. A new era began.

Occasionally, an item of curriculum and instruction appeared, as with a demonstration of a second grade reading in the Autumn of 1957. It was noteworthy because of the overwhelming presence of items for buildings, additions to old and new buildings, and equipment. Architects, contractors, and insurance agents seemed to have established permanent residence in the Board's meeting room. But still the Board attempted to keep one eye, or better, a glance from one eye, on issues of curriculum and instruction.

The recurring issues surrounding custodians, the nature of their work and working conditions, reached a new plateau when the Board went on record for a 40 hour week:

> ...but not between Monday and Friday... (7/14/58)

with insurance, salary schedule and increases also formalized. The School Board attained a degree of formalization and cosmopolitanism as well. The National School Board Convention was to be held in San Francisco in January, "three tentative reservations" were made. The National School Administrators Meeting would be in February, "three tentative reservations" were made for this meeting.

Dropped into the October 1958 minutes was a long detailed 23, single spaced, typed pages entitled "Board of Education Policies, School District of Milford." The struggles begun a decade before by Mr. Lewis, the former President of the Board had now borne fruit. Among the numerous items, several seem worthy of mention or quotation. The initial paragraphs contain these elements of a preamble:

> The Milford School District is governed by state law. In the absence of such laws of control the Board has power to make needed policies for control and operation of the school....
>
> The Board shall have the power to make all necessary rules and regulations for the organization grading and government in their school district....

An outline of the major headings appears in Figure 13 and indicates the scope of the document. No discussion of the document, beyond the expenses in having it printed were contained in the minutes.

Insert Figure 13 about here

Another of our reappearing themes, school district merger and consolidation appeared in a brief minute in January 1959:

> A motion was made by Mr. Tebeau and seconded by Mr. Eads that we go on record as opposing any plan of merging the city and the county school districts so there would be one school district. The motion carried unanimously.
> (1/13/59)

The long history of localism continued.

In February the Board raised Mr. McBride's salary (to $18,961), gave him a new three year contract, and passed unanimously "a resolution commending

I.	Operating Procedures and Policy Relating to the Board of Education	6½ pp
II.	Policies Relating to the Administrative Staff	7½ pp
III.	Policies Relating to the Instructional Staff	3 pp
IV.	Policies Relating to Non Instructional Staff	3 pp
V.	Policies Relating to Use of Buildings and Properties	1/3 p
VI.	Policies Relating to Students	1 p
VII.	Miscellaneous Provisions	3 pp

Figure 13: Formalization of District Policy

Mr. McBride for a job well done." (2/25/59). Later in the Spring the CTA's slightly revised salary schedule for teachers was passed by the Board. All teachers would go on the schedule. The statement was mineographed in form available for distribution.

Increased enrollments hit the junior high school level and the first of the split shifts were planned for 1959-60. Beyond the horrendous scheduling problems with 8th grade classes running from 7 A.M. til 11:45 and 7th grade classes from 11:55 to 4:40 P.M., special problems were anticipated around:

1. Public relations
2. Transportation
3. Field trips
4. Intramural programs
5. Building cleaning and maintenance
6. Cafeteria

Plans for resubmitting the failed bond issue were readied. Among the comments raised were that the split shift junior high youngsters were also among those who had been in "Churches and Basements" in their primary grades. A long report on projected enrollments suggested that during the 1960-64 years a need for 41 elementary classes (1-6), 43 in junior high (7-9), and seven in senior high (10-12). Total district enrollment figures (K-12) were estimated to increase between 1960 and 1969 from 7,558 to 10,289.

An anomaly in the general negativism toward consolidation occurred in October 1959. The Board indicated a favorable reaction of Milford with Kennard District and Appleby Estates. No details were presented. The Kennard District was one of long association--e.g. the high school youngsters rented the basketball court there in the 1920's and the second superintendent of Milford, Mr. Grey, had taught them.

Much earlier we had commented that old school buildings neither die nor fade away. During the 1959-60 year, the Attucks School building was under discussion as a facility for handicapped youngsters. The Marquette School was considered as a renovation candidate for a second junior high school. The anticipated split shifts of double sessions had been held off until Autumn of 1960.

During the late 1950's, the minutes read along easily and rapidly. Two impressions appear. First, the building-of-building's activity, item by item, keeps moving along. It represents huge expenditures of energy. Second, no conflict appears. Everyone, including the patrons in their votes for bond issues and tax levies, seems to agree that housing the youngsters and supplying them with desks, books, playgrounds is essential and of the highest priority. In the midst of this Mr. McBride is clearly initiating activities, responding to Board inquiries and making acceptable recommendations. His immediate staff, Macon in secondary, Unger in elementary and Fairfax in business seems competent and in full cooperation. The principalship incumbents are stable and mostly have been in the district for a number of years. No minutes occur indicating community displeasure with any of these men.

Firing a Teacher

Into the flow of the narrative comes an item which captures another major change in the district--a teacher of some half dozen years service was fired. The "to-do" surrounding the event reflects important differences from the early on "good old days" of the 1920's and 1930's. On April 10th of 1959 the Board noted that the tax levy passed (1936 to 553), swore in the two unopposed incumbent Board members who were re-elected, and attended to the series of decisions involved in placing all teachers on a salary schedule and the recommendations from CTA, a Community Teacher Association committee which had been meeting in regard to the January '58 schedule. Most of these were moves in accord with the position established by the National Education Association. The superintendent listed those teachers recommended for rehiring, those teachers "not wishing re-employment", and three teachers not recommended for re-employment. The latter were to be officially notified immediately. One of the three was Mr. Nussbaum from the high school.

At the April 28th Board meeting, his letter was read asking for a hearing "regarding the non renewal of his teacher's contract." "After considerable discussion" the Board voted to grant him an audience. The next evening, April 29, in special session the Board heard two teachers, including Mr. Nussbaum. In his opening remarks he indicated he had been in the district for seven (7) years and that there was no change over those years. He also indicated he had consulted with a lawyer, and had brought him along for consultation even though this wasn't strictly a legal hearing. Mr. Nussbaum thus read a February letter from the Principal. Mr. Nussbaum's reply to the Principal was then read. We have included these as Figures 14 and 15.

Insert Figures 14 and 15 about here

The minutes gradually unfold the complexities of the issues and the several perspectives on those issues. We included, verbatim, the several pages:

> Mr. Nussbaum stated that neither one of the principals gave him the guidance he asked for.
>
> Mr. Ramsey [the lawyer] said that Mr. Nussbaum never received a communication after March 4, 1959, in regard to his replying to the letter.

February 25, 1959

Dear Mr. Nussbaum:

I wish to confirm our conference which was held on February 19, 1959 regarding your major weaknesses as a teacher at Milford Senior High School. At this conference we pointed out various aspects of your professional career.

Mr. Ritter has had conferences with you at various times concerning your status. They have not produced the desired results, therefore, I feel it necessary to inform you about these points that are of a serious nature. It is evident that the following areas are of major concern:

1) Your absence from assigned duties
2) Negligence in showing proper leadership in a classroom
3) Poor class control
4) Familiarity with students.

It is our desire to be of assistance, and we trust that you will avail yourself of our help. Please feel free to contact me at any time if you have questions regarding the above points.

Sincerely,

Allen R. Eastman
Principal

cc: Macon
Ritter

Figure 14: Letter Regarding Points of Concern

Dear Mr. Eastman:

After our conference on February 19th, and upon receipt of your letter of February 26th, I gave much thought and consideration to the four points raised in your letter.

It has been, and still is, my sincere belief that I have always willingly and satisfactorily fulfilled my obligations as a teacher to both the administration and the students. However I would appreciate your writing in detail a clarification of the four points set forth in your letter, and would be grateful also for any suggestions you might care to offer for my future guidance.

Sincerely,

N. E. Nussbaum

cc: Macon
Ritter

Figure 15: Letter Requesting Clarification

Mr. Quigley asked if he had any conferences. He replied yes, one in January of 1959. This was in regard to switching of hall duty with Miss Dalton without Principal's approval.

Mr. Trotter asked if he had any previous conferences of last year, and he replied yes; in regard to punctuality. He had one conference.

Mr. Nussbaum said as to Point 2 in the letter which is "Negligence" in showing proper leadership in a classroom, that he felt he had very good leadership. He stated that he was a departmental head of a group of teachers and is looked upon as an experienced teacher.

He felt that during one of his social drama presentations, if one were to go by the room, one would think that it was not good leadership in the classroom. However, he felt that what he was trying to do was good for the students.

Mr. Nussbaum stated that on Point 3, which is "Poor Class Control", that he felt he had no discipline problems in the classroom at all.

Mr. Nussbaum stated that on Point 4, which is "Familiarity with Students," that at one time Mr. Ritter said a youngster did come up from behind and flip a bow tie combination that he had on. He did not really notice this and this is when Mr. Ritter claimed he had familiarity with students.

Another time when the bell was about to ring he asked some youngster to erase the blackboard. He was little and could not reach the top. Mr. Nussbaum said he gave him a boost and Mr. Ritter saw this and felt he was too familiar with the youngster.

Mr. Nussbaum felt he is an experienced teacher, that he handled his duties fine and that his punctuality was fine.

Mr. Nussbaum stated that seven (7) years ago he was to have talked with the Union with the teachers. He says he did not do this.

He did join the Union three years ago and has not talked up the Union at school. He did invite some teachers to a post-Christmas Meeting. He thought they would be favorable members. The men did attend this meeting and asked him for membership application cards and he gave them to one of the men. But, never did he hand out a card on school time. Mr. Eastman heard of this and found out that Mr. Nussbaum

> was a member and was *white with rage.* This was in mid January 29, 1959. He stated that Mr. Eastman told him that he was plenty shrewd because he did not do the dirty work; that he was clever and underhanded in giving out these cards. (Our Italics)
>
> Mr. Nussbaum feels that because of the Union incident, his position changed with Mr. Eastman.
>
> Mr. McBride asked Mr. Nussbaum if at any time he was told that he was being dismissed because of the Union.
>
> Mr. Nussbaum answered "no".
>
> Mr. Trotter said there was no dismissal involved. Just no renewal of contract.
>
> Mr. Nussbaum stated that he has not been doing all these things and he is capable of continuing to teach as he has done in the past six and a half years.
>
> Mr. Nussbaum said he hoped the Board of Education can reconsider and re-employ him for the coming year and give him an opportunity in giving the service that he feels he is capable of giving.
>
> He stated that both parties are bound by this agreement.
>
> Mr. Quigley explained that no teacher is bound to a contract. He can resign in the middle of a term and the Board does honor such a resignation.
>
> Mr. Quigley stated that since the state law was quoted several times, he would like to read it for the benefit of any concerned.
>
> Mr. Quigley stated that the Board would take both Mr. Nussbaum and Mrs. Andrews' statements and that they would be given consideration by the Board of Education and notified of their decision. (4/29/59)

On May 12th, the Board asked the Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent if they had changed their minds:

> Mr. McBride stated that after careful consideration they still have decided that in the interest of our orderly process of education, Mrs. Andrews and Mr. Nussbaum are not to be re-employed. (5/12/59)

The Board discussed the earlier statements and reaffirmed their decisions.

At the June 16th meeting:

> Mr. Eads said he had received a telephone call from Mr. Nussbaum, stating that the Board of Education is to be sued and that they would be served with notices at the next Board meeting. (6/16/59)

In July Mr. McBride indicated that Mr. Irby would represent the Board members in the suit. In August Mr. Irby filed a memorandum of a "Motion to Dismiss". The case carried throughout the '59-'60 year and the dismissal date was set for May 9, 1960. Because of a change in Board members, the defendents were changed. Through all this (and other business) the school lawyer was on a $200/month retainer. On May 17, 1960, Mr. McBride reported the case dismissed but that Mr. Ramsey, Mr. Nussbaum's lawyer would appeal.

The Board lawyer, Mr. Irby was on a regular $200/month retainer. For legal services on the bond issue Mr. Irby's firm was paid $6,000, of which $3,000 was to Mr. Irby. In December of 1960 Mr. Irby's summary bill for the Nussbaum case was $1,529.25. The Board tabled it. In January it was paid on a 5-1 vote. Mr. Tompkins opposed it. The negative vote questioned the legality of the payment in the absence of a written contract.

Mr. Nussbaum was gone.

The significance of the events falls mainly in the area of personnel policy and relative power of the several groups making up the school system. First, state law, as interpreted by the courts sets boundaries and parameters to the discussion. At this time, a tenure law did not exist, the Board had the power to not re-employ teachers as the Board saw fit.

Second, for the first time in Milford, the non re-employment of a teacher involved a lawyer and extended legal proceedings.

Third, the beginnings of more formalized due process procedures were in place. The Board's recently adopted and amended policy statement on "salary schedules" was broader than salaries and began to address a variety of conditions of employment. Conferences had been held with Mr. Nussbaum. Formal letters were exchanged and entered into the record. A hearing, which had long been a Milford procedure, was granted.

Fourth, the Board, while retaining formal power had, from the earliest years of the district records had asked for teacher recommendations for all kinds of items e.g. school rules and discipline in the mid 1920's, had entertained teacher ideas and suggestions, and often, in the best collaborative manner sought to jointly work things out. At one point, during President Lewis' conflict with Mr. McBride, the Board had moved to have the teachers elect members of their own group to be representatives on a teacher committee. For whatever reasons, the teachers and especially the elementary teachers backed off and presented written letters indicating their support of Mr. McBride's selections. Most teachers seemed to want to teach and to leave administrative and policy issues in the hands of the administration and the Board.

Finally, the "union issue" crossed uncomfortably in the episode. Reading the minutes--seven years service, department chairman, and only a few instances of lack of punctuality, teacher/pupil relationship concerns--leaves one with the feeling that more is going on than instructional problems. The "white with rage" remark about the principal's reaction and the superintendent's concluding judgment "in the interest of our orderly process of education" are also less than reassuring. Interview data from a retired secondary teacher evoked a comment about the Nussbaum affair: "Mr. McBride was scared to death of the union" and "he wouldn't have them in Milford." No record appears of the Community Teachers Association's action in the matter, although later interview data indicates that in the eyes of one teacher, the head of the CTA was pressured to stay out of the conflict and not to provide a forum for Nussbaum. Nussbaum apparently knew of this and elected the legal route rather than professional peer action.

A Strange Interlude

In February 1960 three visitors to the Board meeting were identified by name, Mrs. Wilkerson, Mrs. Stork, and Mr. Tompkins. Mr. Tompkins and a Mr. Hackworth filed for the Board elections later in the Spring. The Bond issue passed 4 to 1. In March principal contracts with two year extensions and salary increases were recommended and passed unanimously. Mr. McBride's contract was redrawn with a three year extension and salary increase. Mr. Tebeau, a Board member for six years who was not running for re-election was commended for his services. Mr. Quigley and Mr. Tompkins were elected. Mr. Quigley became president by unanimous vote. Then, in what looked like adroit moves regarding the Vice Presidency of the Board, two nominations (Crocker and Eads), a unanimous vote to close the nominations, and then a withdrawal of one candidate and a split 3-3 vote for and against the candidate (Crocker).

Crocker	Yes	Edmond	No
Eads	Yes	Trotter	No
Tompkins	Yes	Quigley	No

A similar split occurred over the Secretary position. Finally a compromise of sorts was worked out. Eads became Vice President and Tompkins became secretary.

From even a casual reader of minutes, a not too distal inference might be that "something's afoot."

In executive session during the same evening a motion was made that the column on principal's salary for 1960-61 should read as stated in the 1961-62 column. This involved a double bump e.g. the 9600, 9900, 10,100 would read 9600 to 10,100 to 10,100 in the case of the high school principal. The motion passed but two members, Eads and Tompkins abstained. Later in the meeting, Mr. Crocker submitted his resignation from the Board. The next minute was enigmatic:

> Mr. Crocker made a statement that, while he was resigning, there would be no interference in regard to it and that he would be glad to help in any future Board issues or like matters. (4/8/60)

The final item of the evening:

> A special meeting is to be held April 19, 1960 to explain to Mr. Tompkins, the new Board member, the need for split sessions at the junior high. (4/8/60)

A charitable gesture to a new Board member? Or....?

The special meeting on April 19 drew "a number of visitors", involved presentations on the double sessions by the local chief of police, a parent (Tillman), and the Assistant Superintendent, Dr. Macon. After the presentations and discussions the Board worked its will in this fashion:

> A motion was made by Mr. Tompkins to direct the administrators to again study the idea of double sessions, with the purpose of eliminating them and pursue the use of our present facilities. The motion failed, due to a lack of a second.
>
> Mr. Trotter offered a substitute motion to proceed with our basic plan and take into consideration the following objections:

> 1. Social impact (disruption of home life, working mothers)
> 2. Leisure time of child (delinquency problem)
> 3. Additional crossing watchmen
> 4. Additional police
> 5. Traffic hazards
>
> The motion was seconded by Mr. Edmond and carried unanimously. (4/19/60)

At the regular May 17th meeting, the Board controversy erupted again, and strangely:

> Messers. Quigley, Trotter, Edmond and Superintendent McBride. Mr. Eads and Tompkins were present in the lobby but declined to take their seats in the meeting. The business of the meeting was delayed while Mr. Tompkins called Mr. Trotter, the secretary to the Board, into the lobby. Upon his return to the room Mr. Trotter reported Mr. Tompkins had attempted to bargain with him on what matters should be taken up in the Board meeting before Mr. Tompkins would participate in the meeting. Mr. Trotter stated he did not agree to the suggested bargaining, because he felt it was improper procedure. Mr. Edmond said that Mr. Eads had made a similar proposal to him and that he likewise refused to agree. At approximately 8:45 p.m., Mr. Tompkins and Mr. Eads left the building without being in the Board room. (5/17/60)

The meeting continued until 12:15 a.m. The minutes were not signed by Tompkins and Eads.

In late May Mr. Wilkerson, Mr. Edmond's nominee in a group of three nominees was elected to the Board. Mr. Tompkins' and Mr. Eads' nominees were defeated 3 to 1 to 1.

Meanwhile, in a aura of strangeness, to the reader, the Board was submitting and passing bond issues, planning the new junior high school, building the next section of the high school, and carrying on the multitude of small item decision making. Multiple strands of district activity, building activity, and perhaps most of all classroom teaching and learning, seem to go on in spite of the heavy strand of politics over governance. The implication of this for the theoretical analysis of schools as organizations seems very important.

The 1960-61 year began in the Summer and once again involved the usual broad array of issues: bids for work on the new junior high school, discussions and correspondence with the County Water Department on connections for water at the junior high school, notification that the district had received a triple A rating for its K-6-2-4 program and approval of 62½ units of credits, and information from another district on their "financial studies" to help the Board decide "what can the district afford to pay for schools" and on and on and on. The Board minutes continue to reflect the wide array of items which entered its purview.

One of our continuing generalizations has been the breadth of the range of items reflecting the human condition that passes through the filter of a school board and its decision making processes:

> A discussion was held concerning Board policies for married students, etc....it was the opinion of the attorney that a Board of Education has the right to establish its own policies.
>
> Mr. Eads made a motion that the Board not admit married or divorced students, etc., and the administrators write policies implementing this decision...carried unanimously.
> (8/30/60)

The point we are reaching for here is that the Board has a much larger social role than that of educational guardian or policy maker for the 3 R's. The administrators, almost irrevocably, share in this larger role. Implications seem to ripple in multiple directions--for professional training, for schooling in a democratic society, for the reproduction of society.

On occasion, simple arrays of figures suggest the magnitude of problems on their way. The report of enrollment in September 1960 raises the continuing crisis in population growth. Figure 16 presents the data. The kindergarten contains a number of children who will enter parochial schools as well as public schools. But the first few grades are averaging over 600 pupils while the last two years of high school about 350. The tidal wave will continue to inundate.

Insert Figure 16 About Here

In February 1961, the membership of the School Board shifted about. Mr. Wilkerson and Mr. Edmond both incumbents, indicated they would be candidates for re-election. Mr. Trotter resigned. From six names to fill the unexpired term, two were nominated. On a 4-1 vote Mr. Oakes won over Mr. Osborn. The vacancy would be filled for a two year term in April.

Nepotism issues reappeared during the year, this time, that the district would not employ any member "of the immediate family of Board members." The nature of the problem never was posed clearly in the minutes. One of the Board members had a brother in the central office and a wife who taught in one of the elementary schools. Votes were always complicated by non votes when possible conflict of interest was present.

In April, the two regular incumbents on the Board lost in a strongly contested election:

Edmond	2197	
Wilkerson	2022	
Osborn	2827	
Henderson	2642	
Oakes	4344	(4/7/61)

Mr. Tompkins on a 4-1 vote, with only the past president, Mr. Quigley, voting no, became president of the Board. The Board had been transformed.

Grades	Number of Pupils
K	1,055
1	713
2	632
3	524
4	581
5	500
6	494
7	502
8	507
Total K-8	5,508
9	505
10	404
11	357
12	340
Total 9-12	1,606
Grand Total K-12	7,114

(9/12/60)

Figure 16: School Enrollment, 1960

Also, significantly, one of the long term administrators, Dr. Macon, formerly the high school principal and more recently the Assistant Superintendent for secondary, resigned for reasons of health. Interestingly, the Board split its votes, 4-2, to accept the resignation. The "new majority" were among the "4."[54] Mr. Neal Under was "elevated" to Assistant Superintendent.

Four days later, the meaning of "elevation" appeared. In executive session, at 10:20 p.m.:

> Mr. Tompkins asked Mr. Irby, school attorney, to read opinions as to assignment of administrative duties, etc.
>
> Mr. Osborn moved that Mr. Neal Unger, in his duties as assistant superintendent, is to have the primary responsibilities of the direct supervision of instruction and curriculum in the primary and secondary levels and of all certificated personnel and will report directly to the Board of Education as they require. Mr. Unger is to assume his respective duties immediately rather than July 1, 1961, the date shown on his contract Mr. F. N. McBride is to be superintendent in charge of administration and all non certificated personnel. The business official will continue to report to Mr. McBride. It is the desire of the Board that there be mutual respect and harmony in the administration of the school system. Mr. Eads seconded the motion. The motion carried unanimously. (4/11/61)

Mr. McBride had run up against another "strong school board president" and was in another fight for his professional life.

In a series of motions, immediately afterward, the Board moved for a study of the organizational structure of the district, for reports by all the central administrators on policy, procedures, and positions, and for one year contracts for all principals and supervisors. The winds of change were blowing hard.

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[54] In an interview, a former teacher indicated there was additional personal reasons for his departure.

During the Spring the Board formally attended to the concern expressed by Mr. and Mrs. Probst, members of the district, conderning sectarian religious practices in the schools and the violation of 1st Amendment rules on the separation of Church and State. The examples they cited were:

1) Local clergy giving sectarian sermons at Easter
2) Display of religious symbols at holiday time
3) Nativity scenes at Christmas
4) Song books with sectarian religious hymns

Mr. Quigley then read a four page statement prepared by the Metropolitan Church Federation stating its general position on "protestantism to pluralism" in American society and a set of beliefs. Mr. Henderson read the section from the State Constitution that indicates no public monies are to be used to support and religious position and that this "must be adhered to scrupulously." The Board passed unanimously a resolution to that effect. (5/16/61)

Other evidences of change in the district, if not unhappiness on the part of the Board, can be seen in the requests for reports and committee activities from the principals and central administrators and community. Again one is reminded of Mr. Lewis' concerns from ten years ago:

1) College study committee (2 pages)
2) Discipline problems and procedures (9 page report)
3) Questions of safety--crossing guards, fences
4) Civil defense, "written Flag policies"
5) Transportation policy
6) Curriculum study
7) Physical education and athletic programs
8) Rules, regulations and administrative procedures

The Board instructed its delegate to the Midwest State School Board Meeting to vote yes on Item #1:

> RESOLVED THAT, The Midwest School Boards Association declare their opposition to Federal Aid to Education as proposed by the present administration because:
>
>> Federal Aid will bring bureaucratic control over educational systems
>>
>> Federal Aid fosters an attitude of "get my share" instead of "do my share"
>>
>> Federal Aid will cost the people more
>>
>> Federal Aid will teach our children by experience to seek help instead of learning to help themselves.
>
> The members direct that this statement of atitude be sent to all senators and representatives representing Midwest State in Congress.

The vote carried 5-1. No record appears of discussion over federal aid for school buildings, for impacted districts, for school lunches, all of which Milford had solicited and received over the past twenty-five years. No discussion surrounded the minute 4151 a few months later:

> Notice was received, in response to the Federal Aid Application on Maintenance and Operations submitted recently, that $28,664 immediate payment of the $41,542 entitlement would be made. (2/13/62)

During this period the Suburban Teachers Association began to interact with the Milford District, as one of the districts in Suburban County. A lay report (11 pages) on county teacher salaries and salaries from the midwest more generally were reported. Computerized scheduling of high school classes was discussed for the Fall of '62.

7. THE TANGLE OF ADMINISTRATIVE SUCCESSION

7.1 Introduction

In a fundamental sense, the 1961-62 year was not only the end of the McBride Era, it was alo the beginning of the Spanman Era. Unbeknownst to anyone at the time, it was the beginning of the Georgian Period, as well. For any theoretical model of innovation and change, the year is perhaps the most significant one in the history of the school district and consequently in our attempt at conceptualization the most critical. We go back to the Board minutes of July 1961 and tell the story in more detail. Into this we weave the CTA action and the two strands that take us out of the district to NEA and to the highly visible consultants. Finally we return to a significant tie vote in the Board.

7.2 The District Crucible: 1961-62

The Board's Action

On July 11, 1961, the Board met at 7 p.m. and went into executive session at 7:05. The first item (No. 3822) in the minutes:

> Mr. Osborn moved that the Board request Mr. McBride to submit his resignation as Superintendent of Schools. Mr. Henderson seconded the motion. The motion carried unanimously.
>
> Mr. McBride was informed of the Board's action by Mr. Tompkins and the reasons the request was considered to be in the best interests of the School District. Mr. McBride asked for time to consider the motion and the request was granted with further action delayed until later this meeting. (7/11/61)

The Board then continued its activities, which had been started in April, of stripping the Superintendent of his formal duties. Then, the Assistant Superintendent had been put in charge of the instructional program and certificated personnel. He was instructed to report directly to the Board. Now, the Business Official was instructed to report directly to the Board on some eight functions, e.g. from 1) purchasing and distribution of all supplies to 8) the execution of all phases of new construction. The motion also carried unanimously.

At 2:50 a.m., executive session was declared once again and the following minute was recorded:

> The Board asked Mr. McBride for his decision on the matter raised by the motion in No. 3822 above. Mr. McBride said that he had considered the request for resignation, but that he would not resign, basing his decision on the fact that approximately $38,000[55] would be coming to him under his present contract. Whereupon, Mr. Henderson moved, in order to improve working relations among members of the administrative and instructional staffs, that Superintendent McBride be directed to act exclusively as advisor to the Board in such fields of educational policy and practice as might be assigned to him from time to time by the Board; that the Business Official and the Assistant Superintendent in charge of Instruction continue to discharge those responsibilities of direct operation of business and educational affairs that have been heretofore assigned them by the Board, that all of the above personnel report directly to the Board of Education and discharge any specific directives hereafter made to them and that office, stenographic and secretarial facilities be adjusted under the direction of the Board to reflect the changes in volume and nature of work that will occur under this reorganization of the detail duties of the principal administrative officers of the district. The motion was seconded by Mr. Osborn and was carried unanimously.
> (4/61)

The meeting adjourned at 3 a.m.

The next meeting occurred six weeks later on August 29, 1961, the week before school began. The minutes note that "Also present was a citizen's group of approximately 115 people." After some preliminary general business the

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[55] He had two years remaining on his contract, his salary was $17,000/year.

Board President introduced the Board Members, Administrators and school attorney to the audience. He then read a four page single space "Statement on Changes in Administrative Setup" (No. 3868). Mostly he raised the issues we have already reported on, but he provided a context important for a number of issues in our analysis:

> In reviewing the functions of the Board of Education, we find that under Midwest State Law, the Board is given the power to make all needful rules and regulations for the organization, grading and government of the school district. The law gives the Board a wide discretionary authority and actually the only basic requirement is the exercise of good judgment within the frame work of the applicable statues and court decisions. (8/29/61)

He then specified the financial aspects and professional aspects of Board activity and the need for confidence in the administrators to whom the responsibilities have been delegated. When the "Board loses confidence in the administrators ability and good judgment" it must take action in what is a "difficult" and "most unpleasant" duty. The Board President made this specification of problems:

> We recognize the long service Mr. McBride has given to Milford and this made the decision doubly hard. But this district has had an explosive student population growth in the last ten years, and we believe Mr. McBride cannot cope with the modern educational problems which confront us. No secrecy surrounds this action, but also there is no sensationalism in the fact that a man is no longer capable of dealing with the problems involved in a highly complex employment.
>
> We believe that Mr. McBride is not now providing the necessary leadership as Superintendent which our teachers, our parents, and our students have a right to expect and in our collective opinions, he is incapable of providing such leadership in the future. He has failed to implement the desired policies and procedures of the Board. In fact, he has attempted to thwart these at every opportunity. His failure to cooperate with the desired changes has indeed been detrimental to the School District and has resulted in a lack of unity, harmony, and confidence on all subordinate levels.

The President indicated that this was neither a Summer phenomenon, or a partisan and political action since the April elections. Rather four of the current Board, who had voted for the three year contract 18 months before "... have since realized that it should not have been given."

After the presentation the Board opened the meeting for discussion, questions and answers. These items were to be part of the official minutes. The meeting adjourned at 1:30 a.m. No record of this discussion appears. At the next regular meeting, they voted to delete them because of their incomplete nature. We've been unable to find any extant record of this discussion.

The CTA Action and Aftermath

On September 6th, 1961 the Milford Community Teachers Association passed the following resolution:

> Be it moved by the Milford Community Teachers Association that the Suburban County Teachers Association, the Midwest State Teachers Association, and the National Educational Association be asked to set up a fact finding group which would study the current controversial situation existing between the Board of Education and the Superintendent of Milford School District.
>
> Such group to act as impartial fact-finder and to submit a report of its findings and recommend actions to the Board of Education, the Superintendent, the Staff, and the Community.

A copy of the motion and an accompanying letter dated September 11, 1961 was sent to the President of the Board. The letter indicated it had passed by an "overwhelming majority." It concluded with the sentence:

> We trust that you will hear from each of these organizations soon and will accept this resolution in the spirit in which it is offered.

The letter carried the signature of Ronald George, President of the CTA. The Board read the letter and acknowledged its receipt on this meeting of September 12th.

In the Board minutes the next item in the controversy appeared in late October, the 24th, in the form of a motion to send a night letter to Mr. Leckey and Mr. Norman of the NEA Professional Rights Committee with copies to the CTA, Suburban and State Teachers organizations and all school administrators, principals, and local newspapers. The three page night letter began with a direct challenge:

> It has been brought to the attention of the Milford Board of Education that you will be in Central City on November 8th "to make a preliminary study of the situation in Milford." Unfortunately, all actions taken by your organization and the local association have come before the Board only through releases to the press or through verifaxed copies of correspondence between parties who have not seen fit to keep the Board apprised of actions being taken. These actions directly affect the educational system which is the primary responsibility of our local Board of Education.
>
> Let me state that we do not recognize the existence of any controversy between the Board and the Superintendent...

Seven paragrpahs then laid out the Board's perception of the situation, its responsibilities, and the courses of action open to the various parties. The concluding paragraph capsuled their stance:

> To summarize our position, we do not recognize the existence of any controversy; we believe it is presumptuous for anyone or any group to attempt an independent investigation of the confidential relationship existing between the Superintendent and the Board of Education; we feel your committee is attempting to intervene in a situation which is not a part of the present relationship existing between the teachers, the administrators, and the Board of Education. While we have had no official request from you, but only the copy of a letter addressed to Mr. George and his

> unaddressed and unsigned request for a meeting place to be provided, we believe that no school property can be made available to you, that no subsidized time of district personnel can be provided and that there can be no official cooperation by the Board of Education with your committee. Let me add however that, if you so request, we will convene a special meeting of the Board of Education to meet with you and further explain the foregoing position which we, of necessity, have taken. (10/24/61)

The letter was seconded and carried unanimously. The Board adjourned at 2:05 a.m.

Internal Board Strife

On Tuesday November 7, 1961 the Board met in a special session at 3:00 p.m. with most of the Milford administrators, principals, and teachers. Mr. Tompkins opened with a five page statement. A fifty-five (55) page transcript of the proceedings, prepared by stenotype reporters became a permanent part of the Board minutes. The meeting adjourned at 5:25 p.m.

The context of the proceedings sketch the complexity of the "problem." Immediately after Mr. Tompkins' initial remark as President of the Board, he commented:

> There have been rumors, I know, that there has been a division among members of the Board partly upon the fact that a suit is presently pending between myself and Mr. Quigley[56] and at this time, in the context and for the reasons I have indicated, I wish to recognize Mr. Quigley to speak to the meeting of existing relationships among Board members.

Present day staff of the district who were present at the time recall the meeting as a public humiliation of Mr. Quigley, a forced apology to settle the law suit which Mr. Tompkins had brought. Mr. Quigley's words, at the time, were these:

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[56] A Board member and at one time the President of the Board.

> Members of the Board have criticized my judgment on some issues and I, in turn have criticized them. I have disagreed with our Board President in his position on certain school matters and have expressed my criticism on public occasions, and I know he has likewise disagreed with and criticized me. However, no Board member, to my knowledge, and certainly not I, have ever intended any difference of opinion or critical expression to be a reflection on any individual personally as distinguished from his official action nor to reflect upon his integrity or character. Specifically, the statements made by me at the Teacher Appreciation Dinner were not intended to in any way question the personal integrity of Mr. Tompkins and I regret that my remarks were phrased in such a manner as to possibly have created that impression.

Mr. Tompkins then commented:

> ....In line with the statement Mr. Quigley has made, particularly those that indicate no personal slights have been intended, I wish to say now that the pending legal claim will be dismissed. (11/7/61)

We do not have any base rate data on the number of suits filed between school board members now or twenty years ago. We assume that it is a reasonably rare event.

The Board's Stance with the Professional Staff

The meeting which contained the item of internal strife intended more generally to clarify the relationship between the Board and teachers in the context of the particular incident, termination of McBride's tenure as Superintendent. Mr. Tompkins' formal statement presented a half dozen items:

1) Recognition of professional status of the teaching staff
2) Staff entitled to full support of the Board
3) Full support of professional activities and individual advancement
4) Free speech without fear
5) Full support for adequate salary levels and taxes undergirding them

6) Encourage individual professional advancement and proper intellectual climate
7) Teachers and administrators must participate in public relations and explain their work and program
8) The Board is the policy making group

These were amplified with brief paragraphs, long illustrations, and commentary.

In the later discussion to a question by a staff member, no doubt appeared in the Board President's view of final authority and power:

> You are a teacher in one of the grade--elementary or high schools, between there you report directly to your principal who in turn is responsible to a supervisory principal, who in turn is responsible to the superintendent, who in turn is responsible to the Board of Education. (11/7/61)

As the meeting continued, positive comments were made about the Board's meeting with NEA officials. Also comments appeard about some internal CTA concerns for the rapidity of the CTA action and lack of advance notice to members. The Board President adroitly stayed out of the possible entanglement in the internal affairs of the CTA. At several points he indicated that the CTA organization belonged to the teachers:

> ...the Board does not want to enter into the province of your association, this we feel is entirely up to you as professional people. (11/7/61

For fear of suit and because no legal statutes demanded it, the Board refused to give reasons for its actions. The teachers were told only that the decision was unanimous. Actually, according to the Board President, the state statutes demand all personnel discussions to be in the privacy of executive session. The discussion ended with some residual unhappy remarks by teachers regarding the Board's action.

The episode almost seemed to end by falling into a void. No record appears in the minutes of the Board's "unofficial meeting" with the NEA representatives. The semester wore on and reports and policy statements on discipline and college study were reviewed. Community College developments and constitutional revisions for Midwest State School Boards Association appeared.

In late November a letter and report arrived. In early December the Board met.

The NEA Action

The quarrel between Tompkins, the President of the Board, and Quigley, a long time Board member and former Board President, indicates the depth of feeling, the severity of the conflict, and the tremendous tangle of issues, events and personalities involved in any major local political action. But it was Ron George and the CTA's earlier action which propelled outside forces into Milford and its day to day affairs. We return to our story with a set of questions.

When a general question arises about hiring a new superintendent several subquestions come to mind. Why a new superintendent? Why now? and Why this particular individual? Each instance has its own special circumstances, and, as our narrative shows, this seems true of McBride's "departure" and Spanman's "joining" the Milford District. The story continues to play in and out of the minutes of the Board of Education. The casual reader, as well as the serious inquirer might find a long ten page memo, and an accompanying letter, a vivid point to return to in late November 1961. The letter was directed to Mr. Everett Tompkins, President of the Milford Board of Education by Sterling Leckey, Chairman of the NEA Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities. The critical substantive paragraph carried the tenor of the remarks:

> As emphasized in the statement, we hope you will recognize the need for deliberate action by both sides in the proposals made. The undignified treatment to which Mr. McBride has been submitted does not effect him as an individual alone, --it is considered an affront to all the professional personnel in the school system. Under the circumstances the Board of Education has nothing to lose and considerable to gain in finding a solution to the situation that will remove a good deal of bitterness from the present conditions and make possible an immediate step toward a more wholesome administrative situation. (P.D. 11/29/61)

Copies of the report went also to 1) the superintendent, 2) the Suburban Teachers Association, 3) the Milford CTA, and 4) the Midwest State Teachers Association. The Board unanimously voted that the CTA may distribute copies to all teachers and others, "the same as the Official Minutes are now distributed." The multiple constituencies in the community, already involved, continued to be informed.

The section of the report entitled "Treatment of Superintendent" states the problem, as perceived by the Commission. We present this section in its entirety:

> On April 7, 1961, three days after the election of three men without previous board experience, the Milford School District Board of Education unanimously agreed that the Assistant Superintendent should report directly to the Board on items concerning curriculum and certified personnel. Until this time, it has always been the responsibility of the Superintendent of Schools to inform the Board concerning such matters. It is a surprising thing that an important decision of this nature, with such severe overtones, would be taken by the Board without more first hand knowledge acquired by official contact with the Superintendent over a reasonable period of time.
>
> Three months later, on July 11, the Board, by unanimous vote, requested the resignation of the Superintendent. The Superintendent refused to comply. In a statement released at a subsequent meeting, the Board President stated that the resignation had been requested because the Superintendent "had failed to carry out Board policies and procedures and had attempted to thwart them at every opportunity." No specific examples of failures or resistance to Board wishes were stated.

At that time, twenty-four months remained on the contract which the previous Board had issued to the Superintendent. The Board, having been advised that it was questionable whether Midwest State law would permit the "buying up" of the contract, made what it considered a reasonable monetary offer to induce the Superintendent to resign, but the offer was considerably less than the sum the Superintendent would realize from the full performance of the contract. When the Superintendent refused to accept the offer, the Board reassigned the duties of the Superintendent to other administrators. Both parties have remained adamant in their position on this matter since that time.

It was not the purpose of this inquiry to determine whether or not the Superintendent was capable of performing his total responsibilities. It appears to many members of the professional staff and to many citizens, however, that it is nothing short of tragic for a man who has devoted twenty-six years of service to the school system to end his career under extremely embarrassing and unhappy conditions. No information was presented from any source to indicate that there had been any dramatic change in the personality of the Superintendent or any abrupt loss of professional, mental, or physical ability that would warrant such contemptuous treatment of the chief administrative officer of the school system.

The persons conducting this inquiry do not question the sincerity of the Board of Education in their desire to strengthen the administration of the Milford School System. We do, however, question the choice of alternatives in dealing with the situation and deplore the indignity to which an important member of the school staff was submitted. It is to be expected that many members of the faculty of the schools would suffer a great loss of confidence in the judgment and good will of the Board, as well as the likelihood of proper professional treatment for themselves as a result of the Board's action in regard to the Superintendent.

The Superintendent's refusal to accept the Board's offer of partial settlement of the contract in view of the substantial amount due him under his contract is certainly reasonable. To the extent he has accepted conditions not to his liking in order to prevent excessive turmoil in the school system he is to be commended. It is to be hoped that the Board and the community will find a means to bring about a solution of the present situation that will restore confidence, that will be satisfactory to the members of the teaching profession, and which, should the resignation or termination be effective, would be reassuring to anyone who may succeed him in the position of Superintendent of Schools. (P.D. 11/61)

The Commission developed several lines of argument which stretched out the breadth and depth of the problem. We merely list them with brief comment:

1) "the controversy...has reached a stage where no simple solution is possible."
2) "...all parties to the dispute must be willing to make concessions, adjustments and sincere conciliatory efforts."
3) The teachers have developed "doubt and uncertainty" concerning possible arbitrary board action to anyone who disagrees.
4) The long term difficulties in "a system of multiple unit administrative control" and the tendency for board members "to personally assume administrative responsibilities."
5) The longer the conditions prevail the more difficult the resolutions.
6) The need to take a series of interlocking actions.

Several aspects of an overall solution were raised in the report:

1) Development of a Policy Manual applicable to all administrators, supervisors, and teachers.
2) One part would be "a set of approved personnel policies, including particularly a Fair Dismissal Policy." The latter would include written notice, an opportunity for improvement, and a hearing before final action.
3) Involvement of Board members, administrators, and teachers in the process.
4) Establish an office of Senior Consultant to the Board, equal in salary and coterminous with current contract.
5) "...secure the best qualified person available for the position of Superintendent of Schools. In view of the deep seated emotions that have developed over the present situation, it would be well to endeavor to find someone who has not been in any way involved in the present difficulties."
6) The new Superintendent should be "...a man who will have the personality to win conficence, the background to develop a program of quality education, the integrity to stand for what he and his staff deem important as well as carry out the specific decisions of the Board, and the ability to win the cooperation and devoted efforts of all those responsible for the program of the public schools in Milford."

7) To increase the likelihood of securing an able successor the report suggested setting up an ad hoc committee of

several prominent educators to study the district, screen applicants and develop a short list of several candidates for the Board's final consideration.

Denouement

Real life events seldom follow totally the lines of classical drama. The denouement of the Board/Superintendent conflict and the district crisis ended quickly and quietly, at least as reflected in the Board minutes. On December 12th, agreements were reached between the Board and the Superintendent which reflected the substance of the Committee's recommendations: Senior Consultant--salary, office, travel, and duties as raised in the report; and beginnings of a committee to select a new superintendent. A detailed letter went to Mr. Leckey of NEA on the next day indicating the agreements. Responses were also made to the several aspects of the analysis and recommendations. In February the Board Committee reported the hiring of Dr. Theodore Jones and Dr. Russell Johnson as a two person screening committee to help in the selection of the new superintendent. The consultants were to solicit names from some 20 university officials and to interview at AASA late in February. The Superintendents on the committee, while from the midwestern part of the country, were nationally recognized members of the profession. They had access to networks of training institutions, leading figures in administration, and "comers" in the field.

Latently, though, the drama had important implications and set a number of "firsts", what people often refer to as setting precedents. They include:

1) major involvement of the CTA in district policy
2) appeals by teachers to their national organization
3) appearance of a national organization in local and district affairs
4) the national organization as a respected outside mediator whose proposals carried the weight of objectivity and fairness and whose substance formed the basis of the compromise and agreements

Several items seemed more of a continuation:

1) modernization
2) broadened scope of national consultants, advice, and reports
3) involvement in the "national network"
4) continued community involvement, discussion, and debate

Final Events of 1961-62

The torrent of normal business poured down on the Board. Serious discipline problems, discharging of firearms by several students at the high school, arose, were discussed, and settled. The Metropolitan Teachers Association became active regarding salaries here and in communities scattered throughout the county. Issues "About Teaching Democracy and Communism in the Public Schools" appeared on the agenda. Teachers resigned and replacements were hired. The Senior Consultant developed a civil defense plan for the district. Work on buildings and building additions continued. The new junior high was opened in January. The problems of placing insurance at inexpensive rates and with some equity among agents in the community continued in the form of an "insurance committee"; hours of discussion and a series of legal opinions were involved.

In April the two incumbents on the Board who were up for re-election lost in the election. They were replaced by Mr. Wilkerson and Mr. Baskin. The two incumbents each received about 2500 votes, the two newcomers about 3600 votes. Mr. Wilkerson had been on the Board previously.[57] The first vote taken concerned Mr. Tompkins being returned to the Presidency. The vote was a 3-3 tie between him and Mr. Baskin. Mr. Wilkerson was elected Vice President unanimously.

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[57] The Board was composed now of Baskin, Henderson, Osborn, Quigley, Tompkins, and Wilkerson.

The Board adjourned at 4:00 a.m., April 3rd. A week later Mr. Tompkins won on a 3 for, 2 against and 1 not voting. Unanimity was gone once again, but the change was not sufficient this time to save Mr. McBride, as it had a half dozen years before.

In an unknowingly significant event for the Milford District, and in an illuminatingly significant item celebrating the interpretations that kingdoms hang by threads and that chance is a major antecedent of human events, Minute #4397 appears on April 10, 1962:

> Mr. Henderson moved that New Junior High School teacher, Ronald George, not be re-employed for the school year 1962-63, because of his contemptuous attitude toward Board members, his irrational behavior in public, and his totally unprofessional behavior. Mr. Osborn seconded the motion. Messers. Henderson, Osborn and Tompkins voting "yes" and Messers. Wilkerson, Baskin, and Quigley voting "no." The motion failed.
>
> (Tie vote on re-employment automatically fails)
> (4/10/62)

As one colleague commented jokingly in an interview, "If they had phrased it as "rehiring" he would have been out."

In late April, at a special session of the Board on a Saturday afternoon at 3:30 the Board, in executive session, voted 4-2 to offer Mr. Steven Spanman a 3 year contract as Superintendent. He accepted. Those voting for were Baskin, Henderson, Osborn, and Tompkins. Those voting against were Quigley and Wilkerson. No minutes were recorded of prior interviewing, the short list of candidates, nor the issues. The votes were along the lines of the pro and anti McBride factions with Mr. Baskin as the swing member. Significantly, except for Mr. Baskin, the votes were the same on the attempt to fire Ron George.

In May, Ron George, the not to be suppressed junior high school social studies teachers and president of the CTA, wrote a brief letter to the school Board. It is reproduced as Figure 17.

Insert Figure 17 About Here

On the same ditto sheet was the letter to Mr. Leckey in which Mr. George apologized for the long delay in writing, with the reason of awaiting the April School Board elections. He indicated that the new Superintendent, Steven Spanman, had been hired with the help of Drs. Jones and Johnson, the consultants to the Board. Further he indicated that:

> In the School Board election of April 3, 1962, the two incumbents, William Eads and Frank Oakes, were defeated by David Wilkerson and Stuart Baskin, who ran on the platform of dissatisfaction with the Board's handling of Mr. McBride and general interference in the administration. (5/4/62)

The final paragraph in the letter needs no explanation:

> Now to get to the real purpose of this letter. You will note in Items 4397 and 4398 that Mr. Iverson (a member of the CTA Executive Committee) and I are accused of "contemptuous", "irrational" and "totally unprofessional" behavior. Mr. Iverson and I would like to have an opinion from you and Mr. Norman as to whether such accusations in these printed Board minutes which are distributed widely to the public, would be grounds for legal action against Mr. Henderson as the maker of the motion and against Mr. Osborn, who seconded the motion number 4397.
>
> We will appreciate hearing from you on this matter. (5/4/62)

The Board acknowledged receipt of the letter and voted unanimously to attach it to the minutes. They added the comment:

May 4, 1962

Gentlemen:

In keeping with the principle which I stated to you last September that this is the "year of truth", the following is our exact copy of a letter which was sent to Mr. Sterling Leckey of the NEA today. It is submitted to you for your information. The letter was duplicated because it was not possible to get enough carbon copies.

Respectfully submitted,

Ronald George, President
Milford Community Teachers
Association

Figure 17: Letter to School Board

> It was noted that Mr. George's letter was a personal one and was not participated in by the Community Teachers Association or the Executive Committee thereof. (5/8/62)

No other comments are recorded. Other business of the Board continued--discussions about the Civil Air Patrol, receipt of a survey on future plans of the Class of '62, a 4th grade teacher's "informative" presentation of a reading program, and bids on a senior high Language Laboratory for $10,841. The Open House and dedication of the new Junior High School were set for May 20th. The new Superintendent and his wife, Dr. and Mrs. Spanman, were to be invited. The gym of that junior high school. two years later was to be a three month home for the 4th, 5th, and 6th grade students, the ISD, Independent Study Division, of the Kensington School. Among the half dozen new teachers hired for next year were Joe Harlan, an elementary guidance counselor, and May Radford, an elementary teacher who would be part of Kensington's staff two years later.

Ironies continued:

> Mr. Wilkerson called attention to Mr. McBride being honored by the Superintendents of the Metropolitan School Districts who presented him with a watch and fifty silver dollars, representing approximately a dollar for each year of service. Mr. McBride received an ovation from those present. (5/22/62)

In a special session on Saturday, June 16th, the Board met with Dr. Spanman present. The item on the agenda was a discussion of the tender of offers for the land for the site of the Kensington Elementary School. Ten days later at the regular meeting, plans for an architect were tabled to await a later meeting. The Assistant Superintendent, Mr. Neal Unger, reported on a "pleasant meeting" with Dr. Spanman on June 16th and that the new Superintendent approved the current plans and asked Mr. Unger to continue his efforts.

The Board's conflicts continued to shadow its activities. Mr. Tompkins submitted a three page letter indicating he would file for another three year term, the following year (April, 1963), that he wanted "to refute certain untruths and rumors" being circulated about himself, and that he "unequivocally" was not running for higher political office.

Similarly, the press of the regional and state politics continued. The Metropolitan Superintendents Organization had commissioned the School of Education of City University to prepare a study of School District Reorganization. A digest of its report was appended to the Board minutes. The reports' objectives for reorganization focused on:

1) high quality programs
2) equalization of educational opportunity (economic) to an acceptable level
3) prudent expenditure of public funds

The input-output analysis put together various combinations of district size, economic resources, and coordination of special services. "Resolutions" of a "final" sort were not achieved then. And, as we shall see later (Volume II), district organization and reorganization is one of those political problems which are never solved finally, for changes have been in the air since the turn of the century and continue until today, where size and economic differences as issues have been replaced by issues of racial equity.

7.3 Ending Milford's Early History and Foreshadowing the Later

The Spanman Era was to last but four years, 1962-1966, including one year for a leave of absence. Dr. Spanman was Superintendent when the innovative Kensington School was built, staffed, and opened. The first year in the life of the school has been described and analyzed in detail in Anatomy of Educational Innovation, An Organizational Analysis of an Elementery School (Smith and Keith, 1971). The Spanman story intertwines with the story of Ronald George, his successor as Superintendent, 1966 to the present. The details of those stories demand telling in their own right as well as telling as explanatory context for the changes in the school during its fifteen year existence. This volume is now ready for its own conclusion, an attempt to conceptionalize aspects of a theory of district evolution, change and innovation.

Essentially we have reported on the tangle of administrative succession. McBride, Spanman, and George were all involved, the latter in ways not clear at the time. But a tangle it was. Further, a complex context, partly moving under its own dynamics, occurred as well. Some of the elements of that context had been around for years. Some of it we tried to pattern and organize for the reader in the form of stories with multiple strands. Mostly these strands and stories stayed close to how they were perceived or might have been perceived by the participants engaged in the day to day action. Next we want to distance ourselves a bit and look to some patterns and regularities which might be relevant to individuals and groups involved with communities and school districts in other times and places. Those generalizations will be in the form of a "Summary, Conclusions, and Implications" statement.

8. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

8.1 Introduction

This monograph has had two major objectives. Initially, it was to provide an historical context which would increase our understanding of educational innovation, as exemplified in the initiation of the innovative Kensington School. That remains a central purpose. The second purpose arose from carrying out that effort. As we inquired into this context, the story of the Milford District became fascinating in its own right. The data, especially the school board minutes, were so potent in both their effects on us as researchers (especially on Smith) and on what they seemed to say about the problem of school change, that they forced a reconceptualization of the project. The overarching idea, "Innovation and Change in American Education", arose as a theme around which the many pieces might be integrated. The blending of historical methods with more contemporaneous social science methods became a reality, a problem, and an agenda. The Milford School District has changed in many ways, for a number of reasons, and with complicated interactive effects since 1915. In our view, now, anyone who attempts to talk about school innovation without an understanding of the kind that an historical case such as the Milford Chronicle gives, is seriously limiting their perspective.[58]

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[58] Such an accusing finger points firstly at ourselves and our original study, Anatomy of an Educational Innovation (Smith and Keith, 1971).

8.2 The Many Faces of Democracy in Education and Schooling

Among the many things this study, and its accompanying reports, did not start out to be was a political science investigation. An essay on democracy was perhaps as far afield as any that might have been on our minds. The issues, the data, the evolving interpretation dragged us in this direction. A half dozen sub issues seem knitted together here. The political context of schooling has major significance for innovation and change, significance far beyond our initial appreciation. National and state problems and purposes have vied longer and more intimately with local problems than we had realized or understood. The nature and importance of responsiveness of the schools to the wishes of the community has a subtlety, a complexity, and a scope which we found to be startling if not overwhelming. Finally we learned what "voting" was all about; our high school civics teachers can finally rest in peace.

The Political Context of Schooling

Several key items are involved in our meaning and use of political. First, different interests, in the sense of different desires by different subgroups in the community and in the school as an organization, exist. 2) Different perspectives, in the sense of points of view, beliefs or cognitions exist about the structures, processes and instrumentabilities of schooling. 3) These differences in interests and perspectives meet and frequently collide in the form of social conflict. 4) A variety of structures and processes exist to channel, work through, and resolve the conflicts. Social scientific labels and cliches like "conflict resolution" seem too simple for the reality. Citizens talk, organize and present to the Board. At times, candidates for the Board engage in hotly contested campaigns and elections. Within the Board, disagreements are talked about, argued over, and voted upon. Strong personalities come into play as do potent reports and consultants. The reports and consultants seem to have their latent as well as manifest uses by all sorts of people. 5) No where in the system -- at least in Milford -- that is, no position nor subgroup in the organization escapes -- as we saw in Board-Superintendent, Superintendent-Principal, Teacher-Board, and CTA and Union-Superintendent relationships.

Localism

The roots of localism reach deep in Suburban County as well as Milford. And they were there long before Suburban County became suburban. In the metropolitan complexity of the late 20th Century it is difficult to recall, for many of us, and difficult to realize, for most of us, how recent the rural localist tradition is. While we do not know the history of rural school consolidation across the country, we found documents, histories and stories that reported events similar to those in Milford. We cite two of those to illustrate several aspects of the general interpretive pattern we are developing:

> In 1933 a county school districting board met 16 times and emerged with a plan to merge the 90 little three-director districts in the county down to 16. .... Wanting no part of this, the board members campaigned against it and the measures failed all over the county.
> (P.D. 1977 p.34)

Milford, at that time, was a "big" school district. The high school had graduated two classes, a first through eighth grade elementary school was in operation in a new brick building, and a small two teacher school for Black youngsters had been built over ten years before.

In a situation very similar to Milford's in Suburban County, a project document reports on consolidation about the same time in the early 50's:

> The Midwest State legislature, mindful of the fact that the state of public education in Midwest was pitifully disorganized in the postwar years, enacted legislation enabling massive consolidations to take place. Such proposals originated with the county boards of education, subject to approval by the State Board of Education. *The county school board* literally lumped all of North Suburban County into one district, including old town Gentle Valley and all of Gardenville, and sent the plan in to the state board for approval. Such approval eventually was granted, and the matter was put on the ballot for *October 29, 1949.*
>
> Dr. Stanley H. Synder, county superintendent from 1916 through 1952, was against such a move as it would tend to destroy the voice those people had exercised so many years in public school education. The farmers knew Dr. Synder objected to it, and he was their wise counselor on educational matters--if he was against it then automatically it was no good. The Forrest Hills board had hired Dr. Synder's son, Earl P. Snyder, to represent them in legal matters, including the bond issue that produced the funds for their new building, and Earl Synder was against the proposal too.
>
> "We were able to get the word to all the little three-director districts up here, and they came to the polls and voted. The Gardenville people were sound asleep, and didn't vote at all. As a result, *the proposal failed by a two-to-one majority.*" (Our Italics)
>
> Synder realized there was a provision in the law for resubmission and he knew he had to act fast. "If we could just build ourselves to the point where we had considerable area, we felt the county board would leave us alone."
>
> And that was what the *December 10, 1949* election was all about. They had to grow, as a means of self defense. They couldn't take advantage of annexation statues unless they formed themselves into a so-called "six-director town school district." (Our Italics) (P.D. 1977, pp. 98-100)

In two sentences, localism as a point of view and as a mechanism of innovation and change are clearly indicated:

> All this time, Martha Walters, the clerk of the board, ran from one little district to another, encouraging the directors to come with Ingelford *rather than allow themselves to be gobbled up by an "outsider" district.* "It seemed like I was going all the time. Everybody else was working. Somebody had to do it, so I did," Mrs. Walters said. (Our Italics) (p. 104)

The fear of being "gobbled up by an 'outsider'" meant then, just 30 years ago, that the outsider was a small city of several thousand individuals. (Recall also at that time, Midwest State had de jure segregated schools.) Within a year and a half, really in two separate thrusts, a northside and a southside, over a dozen of these three-director, one-room schoolhouse school districts became the Ingelford School District, in what is perhaps a prototypic illustration of both the idea and the actualization of localism or local autonomy, in schooling and school community relationships. Images of populism, ragamuffins, and a rag tag army float through the larger account. That side of the story is awesome when now the lament is over the impotence of any kind of community social action.

Earlier we cited an interview with a now elderly citizen who had been on the Milford School Board as a young man, indicated how local, "local" could be defined. Debates occurred between the two sides of the district, which seemed to differ in socio economic status and attempts were made to have one director representing each of those older parts of the community and one representing the newer suburban development of the 1920's.

Related to localism, we believe, is the easier consensus of the community toward defining and actualizing the common good. Mr. Tholozan, as a young man with a family had moved to one of Milford's post World War I suburban developments. He soon was active in the local neighborhood improvement association.

It was this group which had nominated and supported him for his successful election to the school board. In addition, he helped found the Milford Volunteer Fire Department and served as it's captain for a number of years. He spent Sunday mornings down at the building they had built "drinking beer and polishing the fire engine" according to his wife. They worked hard for roads, water, sewers, electricity, and telephone services.

The general point we are making reveals a common cause around achievement of simple material benefits for a relatively small isolated community in still a very rural county. The improvement of schools was one part of this.

Into this localist tradition, as our later discussion will show, arise issues of desegregation, integration, equality and justice. Policies and practices of neighborhood schools, bussing, cross district transfers of pupils, and perhaps one large metropolitan school district. While issues of racism, prejudice and discrimination, and integration are clearly central to our later story analysis and interpretation the contention we would make is that a strong parallel strand of localism and autonomy is equally a part of the story, analysis, and interpretation.

Responsiveness to Local Needs

Without being maudlin, one part of the record on innovation and change in Milford seems intellectually simple--responsiveness to the wishes of local citizens as individuals and subgroups. The "will of the people", a cliche from Social Studies 101, kept appearing and reappearing. Such is the special education story, which we haven't highlighted as such but which weaves as a mini theme throughout our narrative from the earliest years. The Board implemented multiple alternative policies over the years: exclusion, homebound teaching, payments to other districts or private schools, special classes, and special schools. Eventually a regional program was enacted by a number of school districts. Most recently, as we indicate in Volume Three, PL 94-142, a national initiative came to Kensington and Milford.

Vocational education and secondary school guidance are similar stories of local demands and school district response. The Board wrestled with this by expanding offerings in the secondary school, by paying tuition for a few students at a neighboring vocational high school, and, eventually, supporting a regional vocational-technical secondary program.

A smaller, but more dramatic, account was recounted in detail of the hassles over elementary school boundaries when a new school is built and parental attempts to change decisions by the Board. In that mix of professional problem solving and proposals by the school administrators, oversight in the form of review, discussion and debate by elected community representatives, that is, the Board, and finally in a series of parental community action appeals, the Board changed its mind. In small and large ways, the educational lives of some individual children were changed because of these processes. We have called it responsiveness to local needs. It seems an important part of Milford's history, its traditions, and its way of doing things. Innovators, whether professional educators or politicians, who want to do things differently or who ignore this kind of "social reality" will find themselves "swimming against the current", "batting their head against a stone wall", or "deviating from a strongly held normative structure." Such actions will have some reasonably predictable consequences.

In the same vein, we have talked of naming and renaming of schools and providing signs displaying these names. Small groups of citizens came up with an idea, presented it to the Board, the Board considered it and generalized it to the other schools in the District as a whole and took action which met the initial request and maintained equity across the community. Simple but potent.

National Purposes

Anyone growing up in the 1930's knows first hand the problems created by a great economic depression, the Rooseveltian political revolution, and the fifty years debate which was precipitated. Similarly, anyone in education living through the 1960's can not help but perceive the momentous importance of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 in the long argument about Federal aid to education. Nor in the late 1970's and early 1980's can one help but sense that Nixon's silent majority and Reagan's new coalition represent another major watershed in politics and education.

As one reads the minutes, one of the incredible strengths of Mr. McBride's early tenure was his understanding of the economic and political changes in Washington as well as locally and his ability to obtain resources in the form of grants and loans for new school buildings and additons to old ones. The Board eagerly supported and went along with these efforts. The 1980's ogre of "federal regulations" was present early on, caused a few problems, but did not deter anyone for very long. The WPA and PWA floated in and out of the minutes and our story. School lunches, transportation, and aid to defense impacted areas appeared. The Board seemed caught in that anomalous position of soliciting all kinds of Federal Funds on the one hand and on occasion taking vivid moral stands on the sins and evils of Federal Aid to Education, a potential destroyer of "initiative and moral fiber of the American people." This love/hate relationship, the conflict in local and national purposes, recall images of Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. The dilemma has existed in one form or another for several centuries. Milford's story is probably not atypical. The longevity suggests the issue will not go away soon, but be transformed by other particular agenda items.

Today, in the 1980's, as we will develop in Volume II, the depression, World War II, and the postwar population explosion, as national problems are gone. The national agenda in the 1960's and 1970's shifted to equality among races, women and the handicapped. The passing of the baby boom has left us with too many buildings and too many teachers and administrators. Socio economic and racial population shifts have continued particularly in the suburbs, such as Milford. Inflation has intensified the economics of all the issues in the agenda. Federal regulations seem to now outweigh the benefits of federal dollars, in the eyes of many citizens and professionals in Milford.

State Law

State laws seemed more than anything else to provide a set of rules, a context if not constraints in which choices about local schooling could be made. Occasionally more specific actions of helping occurred and frequently, but almost always in the background, were monitoring and judging activities. The appearance of Milford High School was in a context of accrediting of staff and accrediting of courses and opening the possibilities of graduates being readied, credentialed for higher education or jobs. State laws framed three or six director districts and the annual school elections. Foundation programs provide some continuing financial resources.

Partly because of what is to be a later concern at Kensington, the racial change in the population of students, the State law which appeared through out our discussion was the separate but equal prohibition in educating Black and White children together. Gounded in the Supreme Court decision of 1878, Midwest State law, until 1954 prohibited the joint education of the races. As we read the minutes of 1920 through 1960, the tone is not one of hostility or maliciousness but rather of people operating with blinders, the state law. The law was there, it was to be obeyed, no one questioned it. The 1954 Supreme Court decision changed all that. The Board, the Black parents, and the NAACP, amically so it seems, made the transitions. No doubt exists in our eyes as to who was dominant. The Attucks School was closed, later to reopen as a center for the handicapped, and still later to be a district storage facility. The Black teacher became a district attendance officer. Not fired, but also not a teacher. The high school pupils were integrated immediately--on an appeal by the parents and NAACP to eliminate long bus rides to Green City High School. The elementary pupils were integrated a year later, in the context of crowded schools and temporary housing in church educational buildings. Black parents expressed concerns over losing their neighborhood school.

Finally, state law and court interpretation provided the framework for personnel changes. Nussbaum took the district to court, as did Superintendent McBride in his several major conflicts over the years. In these controversies, it is important to recall that the rules were never fixed in any ultimate sense. Even after local issues were settled, the case continued in the courts, at the behest of various groups, for a ruling to be made. They, too, wanted the clarity which comes from recent judicial interpretations of the evolving rules. In a sense these rules become important determinants of human action, ironically we might call them the man made laws of human nature. They provide a context for almost every action, change, and proposed innovation in the Milford District.

Voting

Reading Board minutes makes one a believer in the omnipresence, omnipotence, and omniscience of voting. The recurrent "moved, seconded, and passed" flavor of Board decision and action, among other consequences, left us as readers and analysts with renewed faith that individuals, small groups of people, and perhaps communities of people were in control of their lives. Event after event, problem after problem, decision after decision, action after action arose. Programs--high schools and kindergartens--were started. Buildings were built. Superintendents, principals, and teachers were elected, hired or fired. All these events were mediated by Board votes.

Every year the annual school elections occurred. Incumbents were returned or ousted, remained or lost; challengers arrived or were denied. Voting by the community mediated the changes or preserved the status quo. At other times, and sometime to the chagrin of professional staff or the "right minded" Board members, the community supported or defeated tax levies and bond issues.

Words like omnipresence, omnipotence, and omniscience are not too strong.

The Constitution and Bill of Rights

Our eulogy for "voting" as one of the fundamentals in democracy and schooling is tempered, or checked and balanced, by what was once called "inalienable" if not "natural rights." This sent us back to discussions of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights and the limits in the power of the majority to control the behavior and destiny of the minority--even if that minority is a single individual. That, too, is a continuous national debate of two hundred years, with a millennium of antecedents. We will return to it in Volume VI, as we broaden still further our theoretical interpretation.

Education's Community Role

Over the years, debates about the nature of education and the breadth of function of the schools have occurred. They have taken the form of "basic education" versus "life adjustment" or "traditional" versus "progressive."

These seem by-the-mark in Milford. Issue by issue, decision by decision Milford's Board of Education and Administration were gradually shaping large chunks of life in the Milford community. Decisions on the unionization of teachers is both a school issue and a commentary on the relationships of work and social structure in the community. The education of atypical children both reflects and determines the role of handicapped children in society. The refusal of admission of married and/or divorced students has longer consequences than the way teaching learning goes in high school English or social studies. The continuing dilemma of church and state appeared in Milford as a Jewish citizen raised concerns over Christian symbols in a secular school. The First Amendment and related Supreme Court decisions established the rules for judgment and decision.

A second line of implications concerns the nature of professional training of school administrators. Narrow training as business managers or organizational theorists or even as instructional leaders as important as these are seems far short of the demands of the position. While we have long been advocates of liberal arts education or general education, the importance of this as a background for professional and technical training in teaching and administration has returned again and again as we arrayed the problems and issues faced by the Administration and the Board. These quandaries lead us easily into some of the more professional issues in policy making and administration in education.

8.3 Policy Making and Administration: Board Member and Superintendent Personality, Thought Processes, and Social Interaction

When one sits in the quietude of one's office at the University or even in the conference room space off the main flow of action in the Milford Central Office, the differences in the scholarly contemplative university life and the hectic life of Board member as policy maker or superintendent as administrator come vividly to mind. At several points and for different purposes we have contrasted the superintendency and the board. Here we raise and accent several important similarities. In retrospect our generalizations seem terribly obvious and simple, which may say more about our naivete than about the nature of the world of schooling. We have been struck however that our reading in the literature of social science and education and our conversations with colleagues have not raised the items in our consciousness to the degree we now perceive them and to the importance we now attach to them. So much for learning to appreciate something.

The Unpredictable Environment

In our reading of Board minutes and other documents, and in our conversations and interviews with Milford personnel we came away with a concept, the unpredictable environment. We believe it's important in the analysis and conceptualization of district organization and administration. While we use the label "unpredictable", our mode of thought tends to be probablistic rather than categorical and we implicitly think in terms of "degree of unpredictable." That is, some events seem totally unpredictable, some seem improbable, others are probable, some are good bets, and others, local taxes and April Board elections, are dead certain.

For instance on the unpredictable end, reading along in the minutes of 1938, we came to a notice of a Special Board Meeting called for March 9, 1938. With no introduction, the first item stated:

> Mr. McBride reported he had a call from Mr. Dudley who is in the lumber business. If possible, Mr. Dudley would like us to buy the lumber from him. Mr. Sherman also called, saying he would like to put in a bid on rebuilding the school. (3/9/38)

It was two sets of minutes later before the phrase "after the fire" appeared. Obviously some kind of "natural disaster" had occurred and the Board was mobilizing to take action to cope with the event. Over the years, two major fires occurred, this one in 1938 at Clear Valley School which was now the junior and senior high school and in 1955, when the Marquette School burned down.

A natural disaster seems to be an abrupt change, a crisis, caused by "an act of God," by natural, or by accidental events rather than intended social action. Failures in bond issues on tax levies might be seen as purposive crises. Theoretically, one line of analysis might be about "crises in general" and another line of analysis might be the distinction between natural and man made disasters or crises. As unpredictable events they create problems for Boards and Superintendents.

Insert Figure 18 about here

Natural

1. Fires
2. Tornados
3. Illness and death of key individual

Man Made

1. Powerful Board Presidents
2. Potent outside reports
3. Defeat of Board incumbents
4. Federal aid to education
    1) One-off allotments--e.g. building funds
    2) Continuing funding for programs

Mixed

1. Some demographic changes

Figure 18: A Taxonomy of Unpredictable Events

The point however, is that no matter how hard one tries, limits exist on how much of the environment one can control as Board President, Board Member, or Superintendent. Individuals and groups vary in their desires and interests in effecting change, in innovation. Similarly they vary in their foresight and prudence. Also, they vary in their social and political skills of persuasion, bringing their colleagues along, and working out majority agreements. And these are important differences. But beyond that, the physical and social world remains, in part, both unpredictable and intractable. And that's a major policy and administrative problem.[59]

Resources and Costs

Throughout our report, resources and the stories of events to which it refers, has been a concept not far from our thinking. A theory of educational innovation and change cannot do with out it. Sometimes it's a given—a difficult to alter element in the system. Other times it's problematic when community hopes are high and tax levies and bond issues can be passed with some planning, some patron involvement, and some effort. Other times it's a vague possibility perceived on the horizon with which entrepreneurial efforts can be successful. Though we do not have comparative data from other districts, McBride's efforts from the 1930's on in obtaining Federal Funds seemed to have been very successful.

When we first saw the Board's analysis of the cost of its elementary buildings and the analytical power of simple arithmetic in reducing building costs to costs per room, and room costs to costs per square foot, we were struck by a difference. No longer was there a simple "We need a new school. It will cost X. Our bonding indebtedness is Y. We'll need a bond issue of size Z." Now the resources needed would meet a criterion of costs from building to building. In Milford's case in 1956, the figures ranged from $9.40/square foot for Grant School to $15.80/square foot for Johnson School. That's a large difference. Justifying such difference on educational grounds became a large agenda item for a Superintendent and a Board, as Spanman would find in the early sixties with the innovative Kensington School.

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[59] Later we will speak to some of the classical positions in the literature, eg. March and Simon (1958) Thompson (1967) that address these problems.

Finally resources and costs interrelate as antecedent and consequence, as opportunity and constraint in the tangle of the unpredictable and turbulent environment on the one hand and problem solving and coping by the Board on the other hand.

The Press and Priority of Immediate Problems

As the Milford chronicle has indicated, the social environment seemed to have its own dynamic, operating under control of forces and events outside the district. The turbulence as some social scientists (Emery and Trist, 1975) have described it created a press and a set of priorities for the Board and the administration. In the 1920's and 1930's items such as population growth, the rural to suburban shift, citizens' desires for a high school, the changing technology in the community (eg. electricity, gas, roads, phones), the national depression and World War II seemed to dictate the Board's agenda and priorities. After World War II, county and state redistricting set the stage for mergers and resistance to mergers, population explosions turned farmland into subdivisions and forced property trading and buying, legal condemnations or threats of condemnation, and all the problems, excitement and details of building buildings.

The point we are making is simple, much of the setting of priorities, which can be a difficult intellectual task, is settled by the press of outside forces which moves citizens, board members and school administrators into simple agreement--a crisis exists, we have several hundred students, and new schools need to be built. The press, and prior experience with America's expanding population crowds out all thought that some day the bulge of the population explosion will pass and that too many permanent schools might exist. Time and again this seemed to be the way things went in the district.

The Ebb and Flow of Conflict

In following Mr. McBride's long tenure, we came to a way of perceiving and organizing our perceptions of the experience. We called it the ebb and flow of conflict. It seems important for a theory of innovation and change. Once again we feel the need for comparative data, but our guess is that McBride's involvement in conflict is not atypical. He fought with individual teachers, with his high school principals, and with assorted individuals and clusters of Board members. Stories at each of these levels have been recounted in some detail. The point we are making here is that each had significant bearing on innovation and change in the district. Any innovation, such as changes in teacher control of policy, will be supported or resisted in a variety of ways. The Nussbaum case highlighted McBride's resistance to teacher unionization, similar sentiments in the high school principal and the central office administrators, the pressures applied to various critical points in the system, eg. neutralizing the Community Teachers Association, the firing of the teacher, and the long battle in the courts. Each innovative action or reaction has such a context.

A critical part of the generalization on ebb and flow lies in the periodicity of quietude and intense confrontation. On occasion, as in the twenties and forties, the district was quite calm. Anyone observing at that time would have a very different picture than in the early fifties and early sixties when Board Presidents Lewis and Tompkins were locked in powerful struggles with McBride. Seen from this longer perspective, the functions and dysfunctions of social conflict take on a different perspective. The good guys and the bad guys, the heroes and the villains are neither so easy to identify nor are the labels so unambiguously applied. Policy making and administration became inextricably linked to these periods of ebb and flow.

The conflicts were far from inconsequential. People lost jobs. Programs appeared or ceased. Parents were pleased or seethed. Children went to a particular school and received particular kinds of instruction or went to another school with other teachers. Programs existed or they did not.

One of the strangest aspects of this ebb and flow of conflict is that most of the other business of schooling seems to go along normally. The Board decides on large numbers of issues--buildings, maintenance, curriculum, etc. The day to day administration of the district and the individual schools continues. Teachers meet their classes. Instruction and learning continue. The conflict seems to be restricted to particular individuals and/or to particular issues. The broader structures--organizational, administrative, instructional--remain in place and the activities they encompass continue. But modifications gradually creep in, as we have shown time and again.

After-the Fact Administrative Changes

In pursuing our thesis on innovation and change, we have moved to a complex political-cultural stance. One piece of this appeared in Mr. McBride's behavior, which we have called "after-the-fact-administrative-changes." McBride had been under attack in the early 1950's by the Board President, Mr. Lewis, and several members of the Board for a variety of issues--lack of clarity in administrative organization and duties, school dropouts, high school counseling and guidance programs, and follow-up of students. While McBride argued consistently against the charges when the political fight was on, after he won the battle he moved to tidy up district affairs, on the very items for which he had been criticized. In the Spring of 1955, the minutes are full of organization charts, realignment of administrative positions and spelling out of duties. We have sketched the flow of these events in Figure 19.

Insert Figure 19 about here

The importance of the phenomenon does not seem open to question. The meaning and dynamics of the event might raise a number of interpretations. McBride was a proud man. He ran the district internally as an autocrat, mostly benevolently. In the community he was a hard working and well liked politician. When the events moved too fast and outran him or when he under estimated Mr. Lewis he got caught. He recouped politically by rallying a faction of the community and regained a majority on the Board. Then, he attended directly to the internal problems. To a degree, the arenas of activity are independent, but, to a degree, they are not. The beginnings and endings of problems and resolutions are very difficult to define.

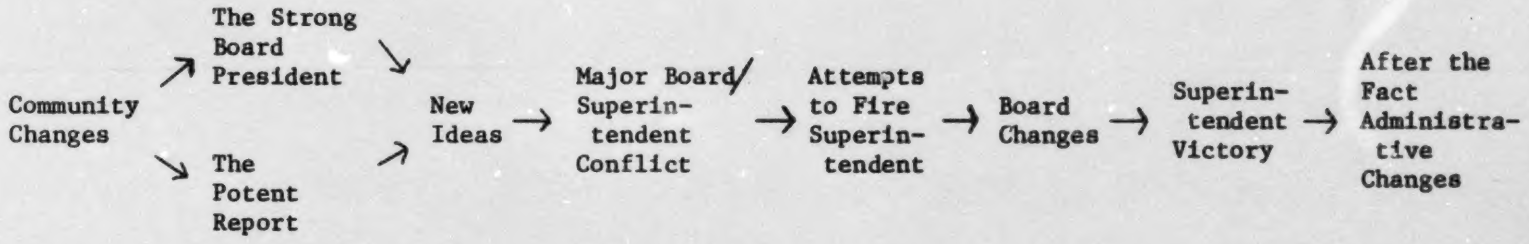
Community Changes
The Strong Board President
The Potent Report
New Ideas
Major Board/Superintendent Conflict
Attempts to Fire Superintendent
Board Changes
Superintendent Victory
After the Fact Administrative Changes

Figure 19: The Political and Cultural Antecedents of Change: After the Fact Administrative Changes

Common Sense Modes of Thought

In recent years, we have become enamoured of common sense thought in its multiple forms. (Smith, Dwyer, and Prunty, 1981) In that essay review we looked at Lindblom and Cohen's (1980) position on usable knowledge and professional social inquiry. We blended it with McDonald's (1977) position on social roles in evaluation--democratic, autocratic and bureaucratic. We added aspects of our own perspective. Yet we remain with the belief that the surface has only been scratched regarding common sense modes of thought. In a few paragraphs, we suggest some observations, arising from our data, to indicate where that analysis might go. In brief we are reflecting on the ways the district thinks about problems, how it goes about problem solving.

Periodically, we were overwhelmed by the variety of issues the Superintendent and Board confronted on any one evening, that we backed off and listed the items. The generalist-specialist dimension immediately came to mind, with the immediate evaluation, it's impossible to know well all one needs to know. One must be a jack-of-all-trades, with the corrollary, master of none. We were reminded of medical general practitioners and the use of medical specialists. We wondered if the analogy held for professional education. We kept coming back to phrases such as conventional wisdom and common sense thought. We seemed to be seeing synthetic skills pushing toward a general point of view rather than more specialized analytical skills. We continued to wonder about the nature of training and experience, necessary and desirable for a Superintendent or a Board member.

Throughout the chronicle and in several analytical sections we have commented not only on the variety of problems, their origins in an unpredictable and often turbulent environment, and the rapidity or pace with which they flow on to the Board and the Administrative Staff. The latter are caught always with too little time for detailed specialized reflection.

We ran into a number of items that seemed clustered into a category which we called "interdistrict comparisons as inquiry". One of the changes over the years was the district awareness of "how its done elsewhere." New building designs, birthday cut-offs for kindergarten attendance, and teacher salary schedules, among other itmes were brought into comparative focus. At times the Board, through the efforts of district administrators, sent off questionnaires or made telephone surveys of practices in other parts of Suburban County. In still later years, groups such as the CTA, initiated similar activities and fed results to the Board.

A key item in such comparative inquiry is the manner in which it handles the problem of justice or fairness in practical problem solving. Most scientific modes of problem solving do not cope easily or well the kinds of ethical or value issues that "fairness" poses.[60] Assessments of how things are done in neighboring districts, especially subsets of neighboring districts which are alike in size, resources, socio economic status of patrons becomes a very powerful argument for equity and justice. On some absolute standards one may not be very well off, but if people in like circumstances are no better off, the resolution can't be all bad, seems to be the logic of the argument.

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[60] NRF Maier and his associates (Maier, et al 1957) make a strong case for multiple role playing and decision making groups as an alternative strategy. They distinguish between quality and acceptance of problem solutions. Their approach, so they argue, comes out "high-high" on the two criteria.

If one pins one's faith on the abilities of semi independent clusters of citizens to explore common problems, define and redefine the central or relevant issues, to be aware through idiosyncratic experiential and educational backgrounds, varied simple and complex work situations, and through exposure to multiple local and natural media of alternatives, and to be able to develop plans and reach decisions then the potency of interdistrict comparisons looms large. One might eulogize the educated common citizens and the power of free and open communication and debate.

These issues might be construed into a pattern of "board and administrative policy making and problem solving." Figure 20 represents such a construal.

Insert Figure 20 About Here

Blending of Politics, Common Sense and Educational Research Science

But more formal social science inquiry was not totally denied or missing in Milford. Currently, as we have indicated, considerable controversy exists over the nature and role of "Professional Social Inquiry", PSI, as Lindblom and Cohen (1979) call it, in the formation of public policy. While we were thinking about some of these issues (Smith, Dwyer and Prunty, 1981), one of the most dramatic stories in the Milford Chronicle arose. The State University Survey, which might be seen as applied educational sociological research, became a major item in the struggle between Mr. Lewis, the Board President, and Mr. McBride, the Superintendent. The incident was a far cry from Lindblom and Cohen's lament:

> In public policy making, many suppliers and users of social research are dissatisfied, the former because they are not listened to, the latter because they do not hear much they want to listen to. (1977, p.1)

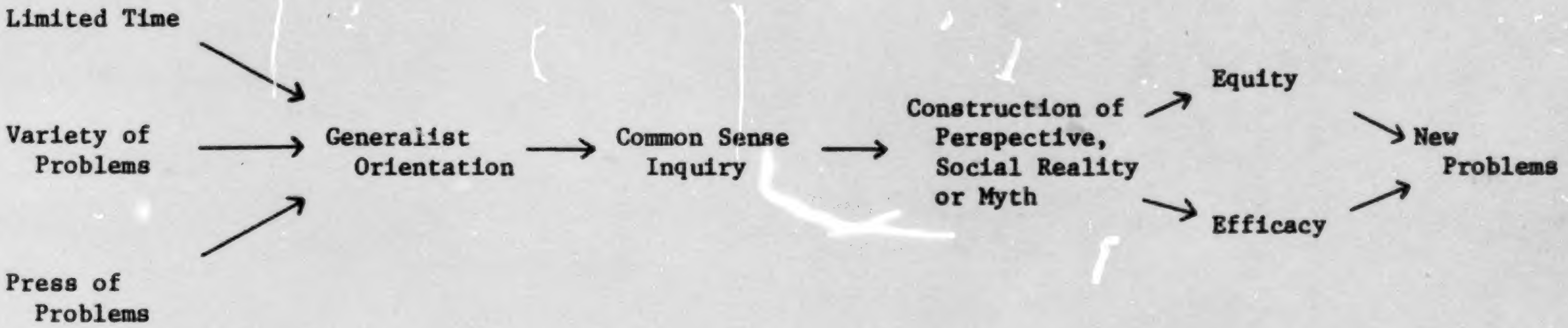
Limited Time
Variety of Problems
Press of Problems
Generalist Orientation
Common Sense Inquiry
Construction of Perspective, Social Reality or Myth
Equity
Efficacy
New Problems

Figure 20: Board and Administrative Policy Making and Problem Solving

The most intriquing comment for our thesis "innovation and change in American Education" is the complexity of the research impact. By this we mean, first it had dramatic short term effects, in the controversy and near firing of McBride. Second, the research report was political in origin, in interpretation, and in use. It illustrated and enhanced the conflict between Lewis and McBride, it stirred considerable controversy in the community, and it preceded the dramatic defeat of Lewis in the Board elections. Third, it became almost an agenda for Mr. McBride's actions to change the district over the next few years.

School surveys are only one kind of educational research, and this particular survey had its own idiosyncracies as we reported. But it produced a kind of "criticized knowledge", a step beyond the "uncriticized knowledge" of common sense (Pepper, 1942). Its ingredients included:

1) carried out by an outsider
2) whose considerable experience in such work provided a number of comparisons
3) who attempted to be objective (and unbiased)
4) in soliciting data from many parts of the community
5) on a wide range of relevant issues, and
6) whose biases reflected the conventional wisdom of the professional education community

That's a powerful and persuasive set of conditions surrounding any argument introduced into a political controversy.

Obviously we are not arguing here that this is the only role for educational research in innovation and change nor that it is the best role. Rather for the moment we are content to state that this is one interpretation of how Professional Social Inquiry (PSI) intertwined in the evolution of the Milford District. Equally gripping are other variants of inquiry which occurred. The investigation by City University for District Consolidation appeared just as our initial story was ending. Will it be one of those items that comes and goes and leases negligible impact? Contrasted with that, was the survey by the architectual firm of Lloyd, Lloyd, Murphy which contradicted parts of the Central State Survey, and which led ultimately to building the award winning new high school. And then, too, there were the NEA consultants who came in, "informally" in the Board's view, but at the behest of the CTA. They did their inquiry, essentially interviews, group meetings, and document reading (the Board minutes) issued a report and provided the Board and the Superintendent with a way out, both a face saving way out and a set of procedural mechanism to move on with the selection of a new superintendent. But, as in all purposive action, the seeds for later problems were sown.

8.4 Toward a Model of Innovation and Change: Longitudinal Nested Systems

Restating the Problem

Through the four to five decades covered by the this chronicle, the Milford District changed. The elements were both large and small. The goveranance structure shifted from a three director district to a six director district in 1925. In 1931, elementary school programs had been expanded to include a four year secondary school and the District graduated its first high school class, a tradition that has continued now for fifty years. In 1949, the District expanded by 50% when it annexed and consolidated with the Marquette District. The school as an organization found itself bigger, with new positions, and with a flow of incumbents over the years. Specialization and organizational charts appeared. Budgets and accounting procedures arrived. Policies and procedures were formalized. Conflict was never far from the surface as individuals and groups contended over the direction and nature of education and schooling in Milford. With details far too numerous to summarize the small stories accumulate of school boundaries, of pupil discipline, of gradual increments in program, perhaps exemplified best in buying bats and balls, reading books, sousaphones and finally libraries, shops, and language laboratories.

From the long, historical or longitudinal perspective the concept of educational innovation, as deliberate planned change for the better, began to lose its sharpness and its potency as an educational concept. It did not sound so right for it implied an orderliness, a rationality, a clockwork quality which seemed by the mark in Milford.

Now we propose to jump ahead of our story a bit to focus more directly on the Kensington School, to play back on our original study of Kensington and Milford, and to generalize from our history toward a way of looking at innovation and change.

The Early View

Only on rare occasions are social scientists and educators able to make predictions and then check them out many years later. We are fortunate to have that opportunity. Over fifteen years ago we studied the first year in the life of Kensington, an innovative elementary school.[61] The school building was new, with exciting architecture, and open space. A faculty had been brought together from all parts of the country. The approach to curriculum, instruction, grouping, and administration was new, different, non-traditional. A number of events and conditions we observed then led us to forecast changes for Kensington in the years ahead. In Figure 21, from the original study, we saw incongruities between the community's vision of schools and Kensington's innovativeness. This disharmony meant increased external pressure for both Kensington School and the Milford District Central Administration. As we begin to see personnel and policy changes, the handwriting on the wall seemed to read: "reversion to the old Milford type".

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[61] This account is in book form, Anatomy of Educational Innovation: An Organizational Analysis of an Elementary School. (Smith and Keith, 1971)

Insert Figure 21 About Here

Fifteen years later, we found our prediction to be ture, but overshadowed by what we found the "new Kensington" to be. Some of our initial observations on returning included:

1) The school now had its 4th principal.
2) While none of the original faculty is currently teaching at Kensington, a core group of a half dozen has been here for 12-13 years.
3) The physical plant has changed: the outdoor play shelter has been enclosed and made into a multi-purpose room, several walls have been built between instructional areas, and barbed wire is strung on the perimeter of the roof.
4) Approximately 60% of the pupil population is now Black in contrast to the previous 100% White.
5) The school is graded and teachers and children are identified by grade levels rather than the broad non-graded divisions (Basic Skills, Transition and Independent Study Division).
6) Textbooks and dittoed worksheets are now widely used as instructional materials.
7) A special education program for learning disabilities occupies a teacher, a room and several dozen children.
8) Corporal punishment is now part of a set of multiple approaches to discipline.

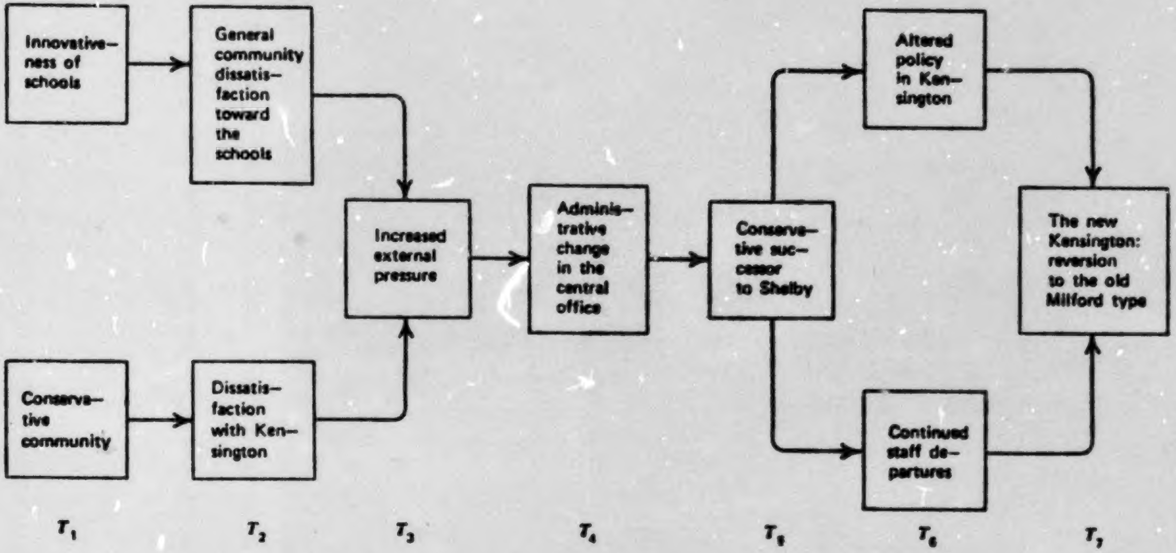
Innovativeness of schools
General community dissatisfaction toward the schools
Conservative community
Dissatisfaction with Kensington
Increased external pressure
Administrative change in the central office
Conservative successor to Shelby
Altered policy in Kensington
Continued staff departures
The new Kensington: reversion to the old Milford type
T_1
T_2
T_3
T_4
T_5
T_6
T_7

Figure 21: The Social Context of Kensington's Administrative Change

(from Smith & Keith, 1971, p.16)

In short, our checking on a simple prediction made "unwittingly" years ago, ensnared us in some of the most complex and exciting current issues in educational and social science thought.[62]

When we now ask when, how, and why these changes have come about we find a series of events, some fortuitous, others the result of decisions of men and women, related to changes in the Milford District, the county, the state, and the nation. Furthermore, we find that many of these changes are not Milford or Kensington innovations, that is planned creative changes initiated by the District or the School. Rather, they are reactions and responses to factors originating in these multiple external contexts. As we sought to explain the changes in the School, we found ourselves drawn back in time and into more distant places. Kensington School's immediate geographical and social context is the Milford School District. It will not be surprising to see both the School and the District to have interdependent histories. As we began exploring these histories, we found plots and themes that enmeshed with even more far ranging contexts. It was as if Kensington's history was circumscribed by Milford's, and these two in ever widening temporal and spatial milieus. When we first conceived of returning to Kensington School, its fifteen year history seemed to define our task. We found that we could not explain the changes in this once innovative school with such a narrow conception. Our notion of "Longitudinal Nested Systems" is an effort to come to grips with the role of these interdependent contexts in shaping the school we found on our return visit. We have displayed this model in Figure 22, which is a simple grid with systems nested on the ordinate and the time line on the abscissa. What is missing are only the concrete events in the Milford and Kensington story.

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[62] A wider range of issues and research problems have emerged from Kensington School than we consider here. For example, our current efforts include tracing the consequences of the Kensington experience on its original faculty. That fuller account arises out of our current project, Kensington Revisited: A Fifteen Year Follow-up of an Innovative School and Its Faculty. (Smith, Prunty, Dwyer and Kleine, In process).

Insert Figure 22 About Here

Our conception of longitudinal nested systems is really an extension of our efforts to account for policy and curricular efforts from several intensive inquiries in classrooms, schools, districts, and government agencies (Dwyer, 1981; Prunty, 1981; Smith and Geoffrey, 1968; Smith and Pohland, 1974; Smith and Dwyer, 1979; Smith, 1977; Smith, In Process). In fact, the rudiments of our model were presaged in our first study of Kensington when we noted:

> At a very concrete level, one of the most striking generalizations is that the social environment has a number of disciminable parts. Each of these parts is a miniature social system in itself. These systems have interdependencies among themselves as well as with Kensington.
> (1971, p. 121)

Fleshing Out the Model

We have presented an initial set of predictions overlaid on our earlier long chronicle of community, district, county, state, national, and even international events. We also presented in skeletal form our Longitudinal Nested Systems Model. We indicated that our conception formed around two dimensions, time, and space. We are now ready to flesh out that earlier conception with some specific events in Kensington's history, demonstrating the use of the model and discussing its contributions to the study of change and innovation. We also believe this approach extends the analysis of social

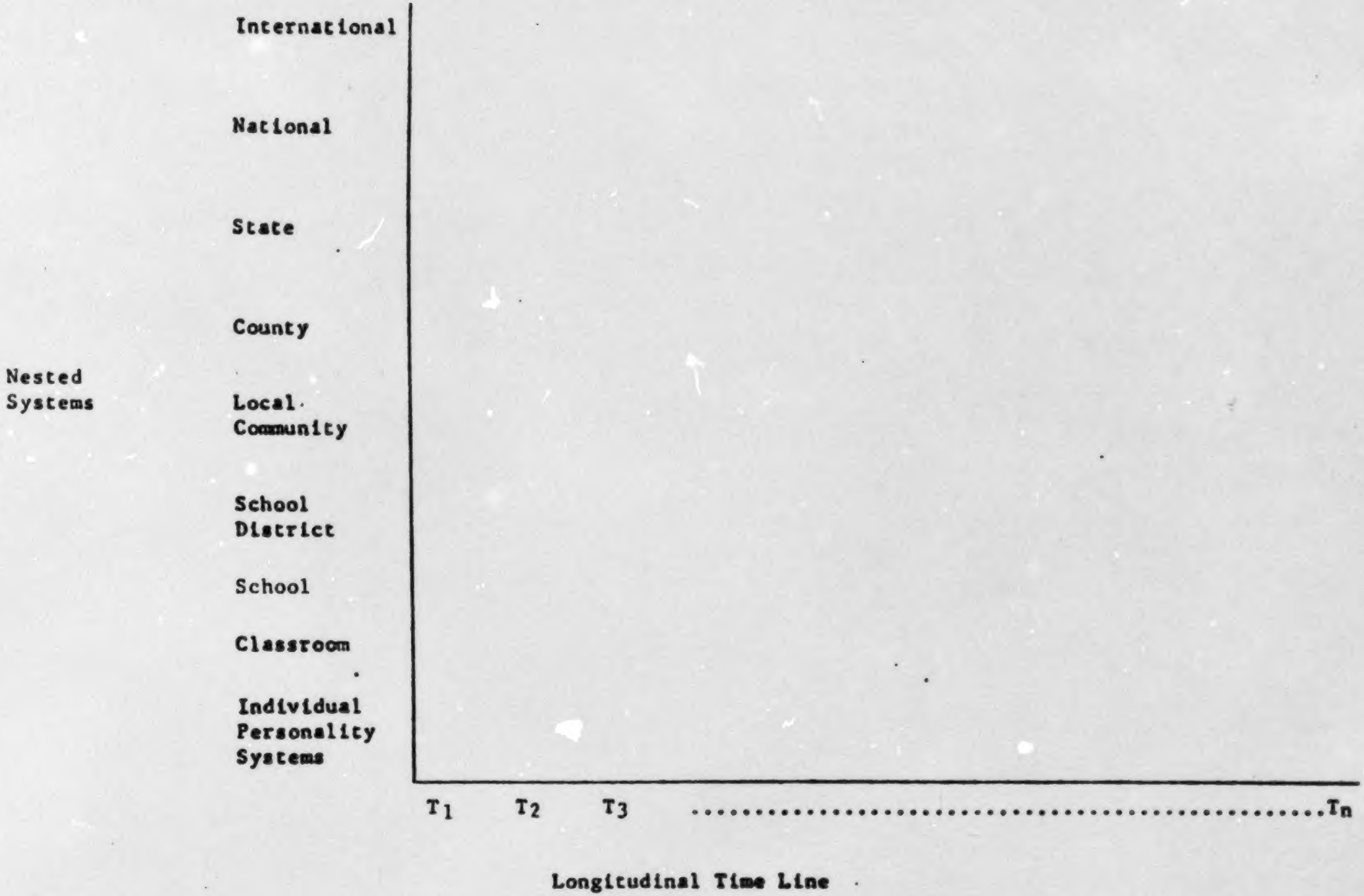
International
National
State
County
Nested Systems
Local Community
School District
School
Classroom
Individual Personality Systems
T_1
T_2
T_3
T_n
Longitudinal Time Line

Figure 22: The Longitudinal Nested Systems Model

systems in education. As such it represents a fresh look at an often underemphasized or overlooked point. Some years ago, Homans simply but aptly stated the importance of such holistic views of interdependent systems:

> By studying any state of affairs as a whole, as the sum of its parts and something more, we are often able to understand it in a way we could not otherwise have done. This is a commonplace, but like many commonplaces is important and often forgotten.
>
> Perhaps it is pretentious to say that an attempt will be made to describe the social order as a whole. All that these words mean is an attempt will be made to consider not simply a few of the important aspects of society but rather as many as possible. The list cannot in fact be complete, partly because the records .... are necessarily fragmentary and one-sided, and partly because different generations of scholars see with different eyes: the men of the present day cannot tell what the future will find they have overlooked. (Homans, 1941, p.4)

The general model we presented in the introduction was a simple grid. The nested systems were arranged hierarchially on the ordinate; the time line was constructed on the abscissa. The generic quality of the model is suggested by the possibility of inserting any set of nested systems on the vertical axis and any time line on the horizontal. In Figure 23 we insert the systems we have seen as relevant to Kensington and Milford, and a time line from about 1910 when the first records of Milford appear. Into this, we place some of the items and events from the stories we have told in our narrative. Simply, we are capturing instances of innovation and change, putting them into categories which are more general and abstract, and then arranging them to demonstrate their temporal relations. We contend that each such conceptual act adds clarity and depth to the Kensington story and improves our ability to think about our original

Insert Figure 23 About Here

International	World War II (1939-45) Sputnik (1957) Vietnam War
National (USA)	Post World War II Baby Boom (1945) Supreme Court Desegration Decision (1954) NEA Intervention in District (1962) Equal Education for Handicapped PL94-142 passed (1975)
State (Midwest)	State Law for School Reorganization (1948) Statewide Basic Achievement Testing (1978)
County (Suburban)	Reorganization Suburban County Districts (1949-52) County Services for Exceptional Children (1962) CSES Involvement in Kensington (1978)
Local Community (Several Municipalities)	1)Population Shifts, 2)Land Development 3)Extensive Building of Apartments 1)Community Receipt of Federal Housing Support 2)Population Shifts (1975)
School District (Milford)	One Room School (1910) Six Director Board (1925) First Superintendent Appointed: Briggs (1928-30) Grey's Superintendency (1930-35) McBride's Superintendency (1935-62) Marquette District Annexed (1949) Massive School Construction: 10 Buildings (1952-64) Spanman's Superintendency (1962-66) George's Superintendency (1966-)
School (Kensington)	Shelby (1964-66) Edwards (1966-76) Hawkins (1976-79) Wales (1979-)
Classroom	Building Walls (1966-)
Individual Personality Systems	Charismatic Personalities (Spanman, Edwards)

1910 1920 1930 1940 1950 1960 1970 1980

Figure 23: Selected Events and School Personnel Arrayed on The Longitudinal Nested Systems Model

problem--what happened at Kensington? The process has not only been enlightening in this respect but has expanded the initial conceptualization of the study by suggesting further fruitful avenues of inquiry. For example, as we view the Milford District story as an important influence on Kensington events, that story becomes significant in its own right. Now one of our guiding questions is not so much "How and why did this school change from 1964 to 1979?" but also "Why did the Kensington School appear at all in the Milford School District?"

In our first look at the Kensington School in 1964 we focused primarily on the School itself, limiting our comments about innovation and change to people and events connected directly with the School. Analysis of the community, parents, and district administrators was undertaken almost entirely from observations at the School or in meetings that intimately concerned the setting. Today, we find that perspective insufficient to explain how Kensington has changed. This fact alone speaks to the increasing complexity of the setting and the methodology needed to understand it. Any issue we would begin to examine--administrative succession, discipline, curriculum, racial change, etc.--carried us into ever wider circles of inquiry.

The multiple categories of antecedents for the changes at Kensington most easily fell along geographical, political and organizational lines: international, national, state, county, community, district, and school. In part, this captured the spread of the nested systems, but the narrative also indicates that we found much of the interaction between the systems to be typified by conflict, politics, and legal constraints. Each theme and strand we pursued developed as a twisted blend of these multiple systems. Those events that represented innovations: intentional, planned, creative alternatives, soon were entangled in other kinds of change growing out of personal and political interests, activities of other organizations and forces emanating from larger systems.

A further look at one theme, the significance of racial change at Kensington, will illustrate these points. From 1964 to 1979, Kensington shifted from 100% White to 60% Black enrollment. One of the most dramatic changes in the Kensington School revolved around a whole series of "nested" national, state, and local events. As we indicated, education of students in Midwest State was segregated legally by race until 1954 when the Brown vs. Topeka Supreme Court decision was handed down. Following that was a ruling by Midwest State and a decision by the Milford School Board. The latter was phrased quite explicitly as noted in the Milford School Community Bulletin:

> Segregation to end in Milford Schools September 1, 1955
>
> After a ruling from the Midwest State Attorney General and a ruling from the State Department of Education at Capitol City, the Board of Education of the School District of Milford *has decided* (our italics) that segregation in the Milford School District will end on September 1, 1955.
>
> The status of our schools will remain the same as in the past until September 1, 1955. (P.D., 1954)

In a larger sense, the court decision and the multiple interrelated events of the deteriorating central city, problems in federally subsidized housing, and public attitudes toward education, school integration and neighborhood schools led to the large demographic population shifts of the mid 1970's.[63] These, in turn, changed the Kensington School from a school with just a few isolated non-Caucasian youngsters to a school that is now approximately 60% Black. The cultural, social, educational impact of that shift in population was dramatic.

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[63] Similarly, the postwar baby boom, new housing, and jobs in decentralized industry contributed to the expansion of the Milford District from three schools to fourteen between 1950 and 1964.

We find a host of observations captured in the tangled impact: 1) The community consists of predominantly White neighborhoods, some integrated neighborhoods and a few predominantly minority neighborhoods; 2) Over the years, there were several instances of school boundary changes in the District to balance pupil numbers. Despite those changes, one set of schools in the District remained mostly White, while others became 60-95% Black; 3) There has never been a Black person on the Milford Board of Education. In a recent election two Blacks ran for the Board. Both were overwhelmingly defeated; 4) District wide, there is one Black administrator, an assistant principal; 5) Kensington School, in 1979-1980, had two Blacks, one counselor and one teacher on the professional staff. The teacher was moved to another school the following year because of recency of tenure and declining enrollments; 6) District policy has consistently followed a neighborhood school concept; 7) Kensington staff responded, in part, to their changing student population with more walls, more traditional curriculum and instructional styles, and tighter discipline; 8) Regarding the variety of emotional response to changes in racial composition, one commentator described Kensington positively as "sunkissed", a change for the better. The feeling of another was expressed by an analogy to Kübler-Ross' (1969) analysis of death and dying: Kensington went through stages of denial, anger, bargaining, depression, acceptance and hope. For better or worse, we find these powerful metaphors. The phenomenon is not one taken lightly. In short, state and federal steps taken to integrate schools are in opposition to local housing patterns, and continuing locally elected conservative Boards, and less of a priority than a number of educational policies regarding school organization and personnel.

The example of antecedents related to the racial changes at Kensington is only one of a more complex set. It is joined, as told in the narration with other strands such as inflation, PL 94-142, the "back-to-basics" movement, and state guidelines and local concerns over discipline. One more illustrative theme deepens our view of this tangle of strands. Our descriptive stories hinted at the checkered history of discipline in the District and at the Kensington School. Some of the very earliest items in the Board minutes were actions taken regarding pupil misbehavior. Concerns over corporal punishment occurred early and the Board articulated in 1925 a "no corporal punishment policy" and argued for school suspensions in serious cases and a hearing before the Board. Over the years that policy was lost, new views appeared, and the District has wrestled long and hard with what is, in our view, a very complex and difficult practical problem. The initial Kensington policy articulated by Shelby, in its list of "from-to" aspects of its formal doctrine was an attempt to move from "external discipline, external motivation, restricting pupil interaction, and the teacher as a controller of pupils to self-discipline, self-motivation, encouraging pupil interaction and teacher as organizer for learning". And we have noted that Dr. George's initial mandate from the Board and his own predispositions and attitudes lay in the need for discipline and control as a pre-condition for pupil learning. Our narrative indicated the flow from Edwards to Hawkins to Wales in point of view.

In the Spring of 1980, the continuing concern over discipline was reflected in Kensington policies of paddling, detention and suspension devised by the staff and Principal. These have been supported by the Central Office. Discipline was an issue in the recent Board elections. One incumbent was described in a news account:

> He said he had focused most of his campaign on quality education and discipline within the school system. "I just believe in discipline," he said. "I think there has to be a re-emphasis on discipline in order to keep quality education." (P.D., 1980)

The incumbent was returned to the Board with over 5000 votes. The losing members garnered less than a thousand votes, less than one sixth of the total. While a number of other issues were critically involved in the election, the point we would make here is the congruence in action across the classroom system, the building system, the multiple aspects of the District as a system, and finally to the Milford patrons views represented in the annual school elections. We recognize that changes in discipline are but one of the differences we found at Kensington 15 years later. Again, our model helps to simplify the picture of the accumulating effects of actions from the nested systems. By examining the specific events recorded in the model in Figure 23 we can develop a more abstract version, Figure 24, which illustrates more general classes of actions or antecedents and a general flow of consequences from events in the world, nations, and state to community responses, to district, and to school.

Insert Figure 24 About Here

In effect, we are back to Figure 21 and the prediction from 15 years ago, "The new Kensington: reversion to the old Milford type" (1971, p. 16). Now also we can examine Figure 24 and see what we have learned. The first conclusion is that Milford has changed and the return to the "old Milford type" is vastly more complicated than the label would indicate. Edwards did, in part, take Kensington that way, but he, too, was a maverick in Milford and was responsive to many of the original ideals of Kensington. Second, events in the larger systems, in which Kensington is nested, have their own integrity and dynamic e.g. 1954 was a major year. The consequences have been felt only in the last

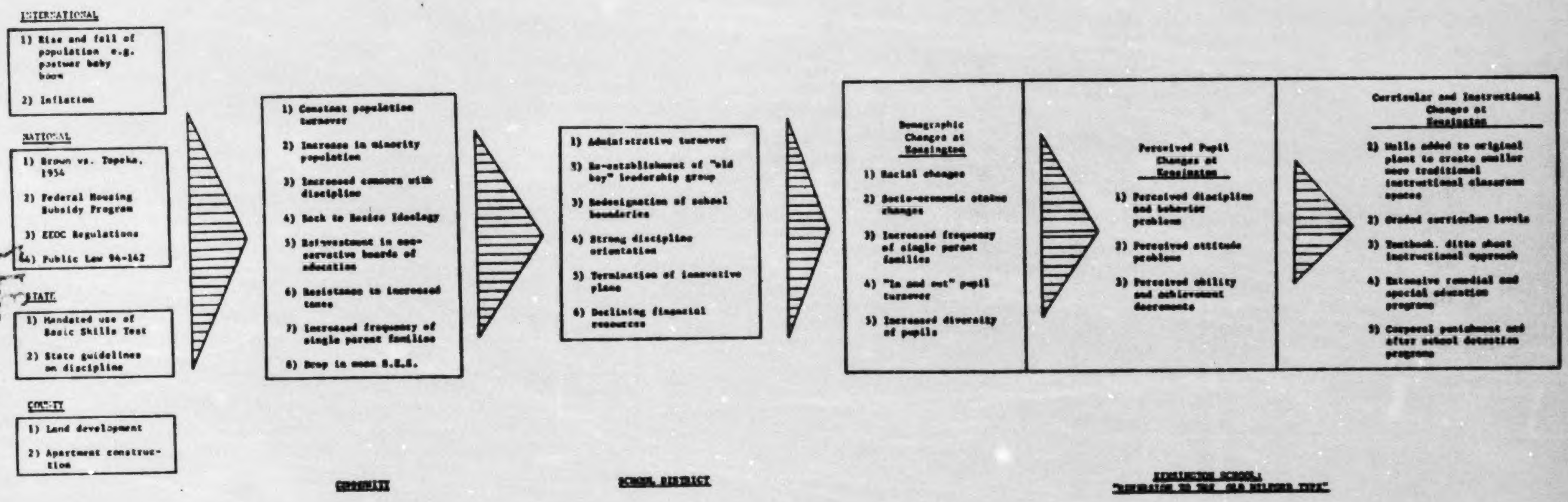
INTERNATIONAL
1) Rise and fall of population e.g. postwar baby boom
2) Inflation
NATIONAL
1) Brown vs. Topeka, 1954
2) Federal Housing Subsidy Program
3) EEOC Regulations
4) Public Law 94-142
STATE
1) Mandated use of Basic Skills Test
2) State guidelines on discipline
COUNTY
1) Land development
2) Apartment construction
1) Constant population turnover
2) Increase in minority population
3) Increased concern with discipline
4) Back to Basics Ideology
5) Reinvestment in conservative boards of education
6) Resistance to increased taxes
7) Increased frequency of single parent families
8) Drop in mean S.E.S.
COMMUNITY
1) Administrative turnover
2) Re-establishment of "old boy" leadership group
3) Redesignation of school boundaries
4) Strong discipline orientation
5) Termination of innovative plans
6) Declining financial resources
SCHOOL DISTRICT
Demographic Changes at Kensington
1) Racial changes
2) Socio-economic status changes
3) Increased frequency of single parent families
4) "In and out" pupil turnover
5) Increased diversity of pupils
Perceived Pupil Changes at Kensington
1) Perceived discipline and behavior problems
2) Perceived attitude problems
3) Perceived ability and achievement decrements
Curricular and Instructional Changes at Kensington
1) Walls added to original plant to create smaller more traditional instructional classroom spaces
2) Graded curriculum levels
3) Textbook, ditto sheet instructional approach
4) Extensive remedial and special education programs
5) Corporal punishment and after school detention programs
KENSINGTON SCHOOL:
"REVERSION TO THE OLD MILFORD TYPE"

Figure 24: A Longitudinal Nested Systems Portrayal of the Changes in the Kensington School

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half dozen years. Finally, and most particularly in the school the "effects" seem much more interactive than linear. Demographic changes flow in and out of perceptual changes which in turn flow back and forth from curricular and instructional changes as the various classes of actors in the school, principals, teachers, and children interact over the years.

With this deepened view of the re-establishment of the "old Milford type" at Kensington and with a more intensive view of the Milford School District qua district and its history since the turn of the century we are tempted to venture a further prediction. From even before Mrs. Briggs, the first Superintendent, when an early attempt to establish a high school failed because of lack of awareness of state regulations, to her difficulties in a tax levy being rescinded because it conflicted with state rules, we find a lack of understanding of problems and concerns with state and federal involvement in education in Milford. The gradual acceptance of federal monies and federal regulations for buildings and school lunches appear in our longer account of the 1930's and 1940's. Today, the concerns in civil rights regarding women, handicapped, and minority education within and between school districts, in federal monies for programs, and in multiple federal regulations are very much a part of the School District. Milford, the community, the board, the administration, seems on a collision course with state and federal regulations. These events seem also to be increasingly a part of state and national politics in the current (1980) elections. Candidates are making issues and taking stands about busing, decentralization of low income housing, and amount and kind of federal spending. Perhaps we shall have another opportunity to check our prediction. If so, part of the "next" Kensington story may be a tale of a district and the courts, localism versus state control of education, versus federal control.

Contributions of the Model

We emphasize that the longitudinal nested systems model is not a theory of change or innovation in itself. It is a tool of inquiry and analysis. It offers a structure which helps us think through our data and a format in which our data can be arrayed for analysis. This perspective has implications for both the meta-theoretical and the theoretical levels of analysis. For example, it argues implicitly for a contextualist root metaphor rather than a formistic, mechanistic or organic one. (Pepper, 1942; Sarbin, 1977). Theoretically, it seems open to varied substantive theories, for example -- organizational, political or cultural. In this regard, as the Kensington and Milford stories unfolded and the longitudinal nested systems model arose, it provided an important understanding for another set of ideas which was dimly perceived in the initial proposal: "Cultural, organizational and social psychological change theories: an educational test case." A competing theories notion struck us as a fruitful, future effort. What would result if we attempted to compare, to contrast, even to synthesize or extend various theories of change in light of the model? Visions of recent attempts at synthesis by House (1979) on innovation theory and Allison (1971) on policy theory danced through our heads. That agenda both entices and overwhelms us. For now we are satisfied to speculate about these possibilities and postpone the systematic effort and report on its outcome in future publications.

Further, the model helps locate our approach in relation to other social science studies of change and innovation in education.[64] First, we find ourselves examining increasingly long periods of time for relevant information in our inquiries. This differs from the snap shot variety of study which examines a brief, specific period. Second, our perspective involves a holistic view of events; we contend that one cannot understand an innovation or change in a system without considering the larger systems of which it is a part. Third, our model makes explicit a hierachical arrangement among the nested systems. It highlights the direct and indirect "controls" one system may impose on another. Fourth, the longitudinal nested systems notion allows one to focus on parameters or "givens" of the field of action set by one system upon another. Fifth, it assumes some autonomy both analytically and practically for each system. Perhaps less than some educational theorists imply and more than some educational practitioners perceive. Sixth, it builds upon a psychology of individual actors, involved in events or scenes, that cumulate into meaningful structures resembling plots in drama and literature (Kelly, 1955 and Sarbin, 1977). Seventh, it includes a respect for the chance event, the fortuitous, the serendipic which nature forces upon us in the form of health or illness, death, and luck or natural disaster. And, finally, our conception aligns closely with the perspective of some historians but we differ from them too, in that our longitudinal approach carries the time line to the present, the realm of contemporary events.

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[64] Our investigation, Federal Policy in Action: A Case Study of an Urban Education Project (Smith and Dwyer, 1980) is a "history and analysis" also. It anticipates many of these ideas.

Our orientation leans us in the direction of storytelling as an important element in explanation of change and innovation. Yet, we cannot concede the value of more abstract, conceptual forms of analysis. As such, we place ourselves in a debate commonly waged among historians, that is, how to best contribute to cumulative knowledge. Hexter (1971) described this diatribe as "storytelling" versus "scientific explanation":

> Historical stories are quite unlike scientific explanation sketches. The latter are thin; they have to be filled out with missing words and sentences formulating the missing

> implied laws and boundary conditions. But although historical stories omit a good many laws and conditions, too, and although some laws are rather hard to find even when one looks for them, those stories are not thin; by scientific standards they are often fat, egregiously obese, stuffed with unessential words quite useless for the purpose of adequate and satisfactory explanation.
> (Hexter, 1971, p. 151)

Although the Longitudinal Nested Systems Model will not resolve the debate, it keeps us moving by providing a working solution to, if not compromise between, "storytelling" and "scientific explanation" and a way to begin to integrate more abstract concepts and theoretical generalizations into thinking about innovation and change in education.

More generally though tentatively, we feel that our model may aid discussion of the place of values in educational thought (O'Connor, 1973; Hirst, 1973). We believe that that is at the heart of what is sometimes called practical reasoning (Schwab, 1969; Reid, 1978; Smith, In Process). We believe one's viewpoint on the role of values in inquiry and policy-making has major consequences for the models one builds in education and the practical decisions that must be made. We would argue that the Milford District was "caught" in its history in a variety of ways. We would also add that the District has forgotten some of its history. That lineage with the past could become an illuminative part of District discussion and debate, curriculum and teaching, and a new perspective on old problems. In that light, our model becomes one form of input into the "what-does-one-do-now" agenda of patrons, parents, pupils, teachers, administrators, and board members. We believe educational research and theory must deal with the questions of values and assist the practitioners through their quandries. We see some of that begun in Fein (1971), Gittell et al (1973), Rokeach (1975), and Peshkin (1978). The imperative in this area stems from wrenching issues in conflict today, to wit: the inherent conflict between such stances as "fraternity/community/neighborhood schools", "equality/justice/affirmative action/desegration," or "liberty/freedom/individualism/local control".[65] We have seen such divergent values in conflict at Kensington School and the Milford District. We know they are at issue elsewhere too.

The Play of Power and The Longitudinal Nested Systems Model

In a recent revision of his book *The Policy Making Process*, Lindblom (1980) makes several distinctions which seem very important for understanding the Milford School District as an exemplar of innovation and change in American education. First, he targets the domain of policy making as:

> ...an extremely complex process without beginning or end and whose boundaries remain most uncertain. Somehow a complex set of forces together produces effects called "policies,"...to understand policy making one must understand all of political life. (1980, p. 5)

Policies, are those "settled courses adopted and followed by governments, institutions" or other groups, according to Webster. Innovations as creative planned changes seem similar in kind. The gradual evolution of Milford's School system seem well within the label of a "complex process without beginning or end." At times, for purposes of description and analysis, we have broken into the unending stream.

A second distinction of Lindbloms focuses on the criteria for judging public policy making. In a democratic national state and the communities within such a political structure efficacy in solving problems and responsiveness to popular control are the twin standards. Neither is simple to apply in any particular situation. Efficacy varies according to the eye of which beholder, at least to some degree. Popular control varies in and among issues and subsystems involved. The clockwork regularity of April school board elections we found impressive. Incumbents fell out of favor and were challenged at critical times. The "good guys" and the "bad guys" involved different factions in the community and they came and went. Internal to the organization, different levels of administrators, teachers, and parents found that their ability to influence shifted across times, places, and issues.

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[65] Whether the values and issues cluster in these ways seems an important analytical and empirical problem in its own right.

A third item in Lindblom's discussion of policy making is the distinction between the intellectual aspects of policy making, what he calls information and analysis and the social or interactive aspects of policy making, what he calls "the play of power." Our description and analysis has accented both. But it is to the play of power we want to turn for a final comment. It provides a dynamic quality to our longitudinal nested systems model. Lindblom sets the stage this way:

> Because in the real world, analysis is not conclusive, in order to set policy, people interact to exercise, influence, control, or power over each other... The political interactions through which people control each other we shall call the play of power. (p. 43)

The metaphor is a game, a game with rules, with players of varied abilities, interests and resources and with outcomes in the form of policies.

As we have commented at several points, reading school board minutes is not only "experience" or "an experience" but at times it seems to approach being a "memorable experience". The events, capsuled in the brief minutes, pound incessantly at one as though standing under a not so lightly cascading waterfall. In the multiple strand events of Mr. McBride's later years, our stories have accented changes and attempted changes in multiple aspects of the district.

From the several stories, the beginnings of a model of domains of activity or events, or possibly level of system, can be interrelated with kind of parent or citizen's activity. There seems to be a series of modal cells in the 3 x 3 matrix constructed as Figure 25. The battle over elementary school boundaries seems to have been fought through meetings and petitions of a specific neighborhood interest group. The battle over the superintendency was fought, really resolved through campaigns, community action, and ultimately the election of and/or defeat of particular Board members. McBride's people got elected. Mr. Lewis and Mr. Krist were defeated; the 4-2 Board became a 2-4 Board. The cell of classroom events being resolved in conferences of parents, teachers, and principals is supported by other data (e.g. see Volumes III and IV).

Insert Figure 25 About Here

While at one level this is all simple and obvious, at another level it suggests the need, when talking of educational innovation and change, not to ramble about generally, but to accent the level of the system (and the domain of activity) one seeks to change and to consider the modal modes of influence that may be grounded in practicalities, mores, or in legal precedents and structures. This seems a particular cut into the general concept, play of power.

The generalization of our point is that each level of system has its own modal way in which influence power and control are exerted and that each system

		Conferences with Teachers and Principles	Meetings, Petitions and Interest Group Pressure	Campaigns, Community Action and Election of Board Members
Level of System	District Events			X
	School Events		X	
	Classroom Events	X		

Kinds of Influence

Figure 25: The Play of Power and the Longitudinal Nested Systems Model

"nests" within a larger system. The larger system exercises more direct influence on the smaller one and mediates influence from still larger systems. Along the way a variety of checks and balances occur. Ultimately, or nearly ultimately, constitutions and bills of rights sets limits and rules, and one person one vote interactions, the smallest system exerts controls on every other level.

We contend that our view of Milford over the years and the longitudinal nested systems model which seeks to generalize the view is both a necessary and powerful vantage point for anyone addressing the problems of innovation and change in American education.

8.5 Conclusion

When we began Kensington Revisited, we were interested in the fate of an educational innovation. The establishment of the Kensington School was the innovation, the specific planned improvement; its fate was its current, 1979-80, status. Our view of the history of Milford suggests a redefinition of the very phrasing of the issues. Such a reconstrual or new perspective has been a major unanticipated outcome of the research. The very isolation of an event that can be called an innovation seems open to question. The nature of the flow of change in the district as well as the patterns of the antecedents and consequences seems much more important than "specific planned change." The word innovation carries a connotation of improvement. Improvement is one of those value words which seem less simple than before--improvement in terms of which individuals, subgroups, organization or communities and in terms of which purposes and priorities. When superintendents are fired and replaced, when school board majorities shift from 4-2 to 2-4 as incumbents are defeated, one finds no clear and uniform "goodness" or "badness" that gives a settled view of improvement.

The creation of a longitudinal nested systems model has been our attempt, at the broadest level to think about innovation and change in American education. That, coupled with the particulars of the Milford School District should enable educationists to think more critically and creatively about educational innovation and to enter into the play of power with both some confidence in seeing the reality and some joy for the game itself.

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